

The Nation

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1916.

Summary of the News

It is not an edifying spectacle to which the country has been treated by Congress during the past week, although, as we point out elsewhere, the President, on account of his apparent vacillation in the conduct of negotiations regarding armed merchantmen, must bear his share of blame for the state of muddle which has prevailed. Unsatisfied with the mere truce which was brought about after the threatened revolt by Democrats in the House, which we recorded last week, the President on February 29 addressed a letter to Mr. Pou, ranking member of the House Committee on Rules, in which he pointed out the danger of an appearance of divided counsels in conducting negotiations with foreign Powers, and requested that full opportunity be afforded for discussion in the House of the McLemore resolution warning American citizens against embarking on armed merchant ships of the belligerents.

The immediate effect of the President's request was to throw Congress again into the state of disorganization which had overtaken it the previous week. Efforts to compromise the question by giving the Administration a general vote of confidence being rejected by President Wilson, the matter came up for discussion first in the Senate, on March 2, as the result of a speech by Senator Stone urging Congress to leave the Administration unhampered in its conduct of foreign affairs. The acrimony with which debate was conducted may be judged by the charge made by Senator Gore, that he "had it on good authority" that the President expected war, and that he regarded the prospect as not altogether an evil, since American participation might shorten the struggle. Senator Gore's statement was, of course, immediately denied by the White House. On the following day (Friday of last week), the motion having been made to table Senator Gore's pending resolution, to the same effect as the McLemore resolution in the House, its sponsor insisted on exercising his privilege of amendment. Leaving the preamble as it was, he changed the resolution itself from one warning Americans against embarking on armed merchantmen to one hypothesizing war with Germany in case an attack by a submarine on an armed merchant vessel resulted in the death of an American citizen. This nonsensical and contradictory resolution the Senate voted to table by 68 to 14, the vote being on non-party lines, and the result being variously hailed as a decisive victory or a virtual defeat for the Administration.

Happily the House, after several days of undignified hedging and indecision—Mr. Bryan's presence in Washington contributing to the general obfuscation—finally voted, on Tuesday evening, by an overwhelming majority, to which many Republican votes contributed, to table the McLemore resolution. While the two votes in House and Senate can hardly be interpreted as expressing the opposition of the Congress to the proposal to warn

Americans against exercising their legitimate rights, they do express an emphatic resolution to leave the conduct of foreign affairs in the hands of the Executive, where it constitutionally belongs. They also mark, let us hope, the end of a political squabble between the Legislature and the President which has been as undignified as it was unnecessary.

While Congress has been deciding whether the country shall give to the world an appearance of union or disunion in an important international crisis, negotiations on the question at issue with Germany have been suspended. Col. House returned from Europe on Sunday, and was in conference with the President at the White House on Monday. On the same day the appendices to the German memorandum, purporting to give secret instructions of the British Admiralty and specific instances in which merchant vessels had attacked submarines, were received by the State Department. Anticipating the receipt of these documents, the British Government last week (morning papers of March 3) made public the full text of the Admiralty's instructions to armed merchantmen. In these particular emphasis is laid on the duty of avoiding combat if possible, and of using armament only for defensive purposes. It is laid down, however, that the approach of aircraft or submarines is in itself evidence of hostile intention, and that therefore the merchant vessel has the right to prevent such near approach by opening fire.

The new policy of the German Government in regard to the use of submarines went into effect officially on March 1. As we write, no conspicuous instance in which it has operated has been reported, although a considerable number of ships have been sunk. It is, however, impossible to tell from the reports in the majority of cases whether a submarine or a mine was the agent of destruction. The British Admiralty on February 29 made public a list of forty "unarmed British vessels torpedoed and sunk by enemy submarines without warning" up to the end of 1915, and also a list of neutral vessels similarly treated. The sinking of the French auxiliary cruiser *Provence*, which we recorded last week, was the worst disaster by sea, not only of the war, but in the history of shipping. Nearly 4,000 men, most of them troops, were aboard the vessel, and the number of those who perished was more than 3,000.

The battle around Verdun has continued with unabated fury. After a lull in operations at the beginning of last week, the German attack on Douaumont was renewed, the village exchanging hands several times in the course of a single day, and finally remaining in partial occupation by the Germans. The French defence on this part of the front has, however, remained impregnable. At the beginning of the present week the attack was shifted to east and west of Verdun. On Monday the German occupation of Forges, and on Tuesday that of Fresnes, was announced.

There have been a number of rumors, alleged to be from semi-official sources, in the English press during the past week that Tur-

key is about to approach, or has already approached, Russia with a view to concluding a separate peace. Some confirmation of these reports has been received in Washington, according to recent dispatches, as well as from Greek sources which tell of disorders in Constantinople. That affairs in Turkey are in a precarious condition seems highly probable. The advance of the Russians in Armenia and Persia has continued at a surprising rate, considering the difficulties of the country and the season of the year. Bitlis was taken by storm last week, and Trebizond, which was reported partially evacuated by the Turks last week, and which the Russians bombarded from the sea on Sunday, is likely to be occupied in the near future. Meanwhile, although the Grand Duke Nicholas has made gratifying progress in Asia Minor, talk of a junction of Russian and British forces at Bagdad, as though it were almost a *fait accompli*, is at present, to say the least, premature, and all rumors of a separate peace are still to be accepted with reserve.

Two more air raids have taken place over England. A modest effort by a seaplane on March 1 was successful in killing a baby on the southeast coast. A more ambitious affair, in which three or more Zeppelins took part, occurred on Sunday night over eight counties, and resulted in the death of twelve persons, the majority women and children, and the injury of thirty-three.

There is apparently some prospect that both Portugal and Italy may soon be formally at war with the German Empire. The recent seizure by the Portuguese Government of German merchant ships in Portuguese ports has been made the occasion for a protest from Germany, to which apparently no reply has yet been given. In the House of Commons on February 29 announcement was made that thirty-four out of the thirty-seven German ships interned in Italian ports had been requisitioned by the Italian Government. This action, following on a considerable popular clamor in Italy for war on Germany, may, it is thought, lead to a formal declaration of hostilities.

The State Department on March 2 sent to the German Ambassador its decision in the case of the British liner *Appam*. Public announcement of the decision will be withheld pending a decision of the libel action brought by the original British owners in the Federal Court at Norfolk. The raider *Moewe*, whose prize the *Appam* is supposed to have been, eluding the British blockade, has reached her home port, according to an official announcement of the German Admiralty on March 5, "after a successful cruise lasting several months."

Announcement was made on Monday that the President had decided to nominate Newton Diehl Baker, former Mayor of Cleveland, to succeed Lindley M. Garrison as Secretary for War.

The death of the widowed Queen Elizabeth of Rumania (Carmen Sylva) took place on March 2.

The Week

President Wilson's choice of ex-Mayor Baker, of Cleveland, as Secretary of War seems to have caused some people a certain disappointment. They have nothing against Mr. Baker. But they appear to have felt that the occasion called for a great and disciplined genius at the head of the War Department. They vaguely thought of a person of powerful intellect and iron will, who should have a perfect mastery of all our military problems. Mr. Wilson has chosen a man in the prime of life, who has a good record as a lawyer, who has made proof of executive capacity as Mayor of a large city for two terms, and who in politics has been a reformer and a bit of a radical. Mr. Baker frankly states that he knows nothing about the duties of his office, but hopes to learn them by hard work. This is as much as could have been said of Mr. Root, in advance, yet he became a notable War Secretary. Under American traditions, and with only the ordinary American army questions to consider, what the Secretary needs is a strong, clear mind and a good head for business. He should be a real judge of men, in or out of uniform; and ought to be able to tell good advice from bad, and to hold himself free from capture by any given set of officers or an army clique. So far as concerns the work lying immediately before Mr. Baker, it cannot be said to be highly urgent. The military bills of this session have been presented in both House and Senate. There will be no occasion to ask the new Secretary's detailed opinion of them. For the rest, Mr. Baker announces that he is at one with the President on the general question of preparedness, and will be in such matters only Mr. Wilson's spokesman.

A slight gap in the editor's information detracts from what would otherwise be a notable contribution to our knowledge of the war, published in *American Defense*:

They [the British] carried 120,000 men in 98 ships from the British Isles to Alexandria, rested them there for two weeks, reëmbarked them with so little commotion that their departure was hardly noticed, and took them to Gallipoli.

We envy the editor's knowledge of the exact number of men and ships, and only wish he might have told us how long it took to get them from England to Alexandria and from Alexandria to Gallipoli. The matter of time is rather important, as will appear from the editor's further remarks:

Germany could land 387,000 men in this

country in eleven days after they secured control of the seas.

Eleven days. When it comes to the invasion of America, we always know more precisely what is going to happen than we know what has already happened. At any rate, it took 98 ships to carry 120,000 men to Egypt. To carry 387,000 men to the United States would, therefore, require 350 ships, omitting the minor consideration that the distance is one and a half times as great. Arguing backwards, if the Germans can get to New York in eleven days, then the British ships should have reached Alexandria in seven days; whereas there is a general impression that it took England several months to place her full army in Gallipoli.

Is not Preparedness in danger of suffering from too much sub-division? It is being rapidly parcelled out into so many societies and branches, organizations and conferences, that it is hard to see the forest for the trees. On Friday we read of the National Defence Conference of Mayors at St. Louis, where New York's Mayor settled all the questions of the higher national strategy, and tactfully indicated Japan as the enemy to be feared by us. What are the Mayors, as such, doing in that galley? Ought we not next to have the Sheriffs and the County Clerks meeting to save the country from invasion? The invention of new names for the new and minute unions for Preparedness is going on at a pace to tax the ingenuity of Frank Stockton. An inevitable result is to make the movement appear somewhat ridiculous. Everybody who can hitch his wagon to that star is doing so eagerly. It is one of the finest ways going of advertising obscurities. Those who are sincerely and unselfishly interested in Preparedness ought to see to it that its direction does not fall into the hands of the little Marjories.

We will not deny that the New York *World's* discovery of a "German" lobby for the corruption of Congress may have its effect at Washington in the present super-excited condition of Congressional nerves. The *World* has cast its revelations in 42-centimetre form, with three pages of text, appropriate headlines, documents, and pictures; but the powder charge is small. It comes down to the simple fact that the National German-American Alliance has been doing missionary work among members of Congress. This may be lobbying perhaps, but it is not lobbying in a formidable shape, when the list of members of Congress men-

tioned includes the Democratic leader in the House and the Republican leader, the Democratic leader in the Senate, and some of the most active Republican critics of Democratic policy in the Senate. Neither is it a German lobby in the sense of the propaganda being directed towards the support of Germany as against America. In the confidential circular which the *World* features there occurs this sentence: "Now is the psychological time to start, for the German situation is solved, and the days of tension with England are near." If the writers of the circular regarded the situation with Germany as solved, it is plain that they were not taking sides with Germany against America. When they say that the days of tension with England are near, they are stating what was all the time a commonplace, that an adjustment with Germany would be followed by negotiations with England for the acknowledgment of American rights under the blockade.

It is not at all hard to imagine that German sympathizers may welcome the *World's* revelations. They will be glad of the admission that the "direct propaganda" which brought their cause into deserved disrepute has been abandoned. There is all the difference between the fomenting of strikes and blowing up of munition plants, on the one hand, and the exploitation of the "dislike of the average American for Great Britain" on the other. The tenor of the published documents runs towards insistence upon the right of American citizens of German sympathies to make their influence felt through legal means. The *World* makes a serious mistranslation when it renders the word *vertheidigen* in the secret circular as "revenge" instead of "defend." The entire paragraph is as follows:

In view of the serious political situation of all American citizens of German descent arising from the unjustified and unfounded attacks by President Woodrow Wilson, it is our most sacred duty to defend to the utmost our curtailed rights as citizens of this country.

Written during the present crisis, this characterization of President Wilson might have justified the imputation of disloyalty. But the circular, according to the *World*, was issued last December, weeks before the question of armed merchantmen had arisen, and its avowed purpose is political organization—"to show our strength at the ballot-box." This kind of propaganda and this kind of test the American people need not be afraid of meeting.

The German Foreign Office may reason

as it pleases about the law applying to armed merchantmen, but in matters of fact it ought at least to remember what it has said before. Yet we have Baron von Schwarzenstein, of the Foreign Office, calmly stating in Berlin that when Germany gave pledges about submarine warfare to the United States, "no such thing as an armed merchant liner was thought of." Germany, added the Baron, "when she made those pledges never dreamed that the British Government would instruct merchant liners to conduct offensive warfare." Didn't she? Then the Baron's chief, von Jagow, must have been talking through his helmet when he wrote, in the Foreign Office note to the United States, of July 8, 1915: "All distinctions between merchantmen and war vessels have been obliterated by the order to British merchantmen to arm themselves and to ram submarines." It was two and three months later that the German pledges were given. In view of the explicit and official statement of July last, it is hard to say whether Baron von Schwarzenstein's remarks are more silly than impudent.

If, as appears to be true, more than 3,000 French troops went down on the Provence, the disaster approaches the dimensions of a lost battle. In land warfare the established ratio between dead and wounded is as 1 to 4, so that when the British losses for January were given the other day as about 17,000, that meant an actual mortality list not much higher than the sinking of a single ship accounts for. At the same time the story of the Provence affords an interesting commentary on the military situation in France. Since the beginning of the Battle of Verdun the question has naturally arisen in many minds whether France has the reserves in men to cope with a supreme German effort. The answer to this comes from Salonica and the Mediterranean. If the French high command were in doubt as to the numbers at their disposal, it is not to be supposed that an army of 150,000 French would be shipped off to the Far East. The lives lost on the Provence show that the transport of large masses is still under way at a time when German pressure against the western line is at its heaviest. The conclusion is unavoidable that Joffre believes he has enough men in hand and to spare to deal with any situation that may arise in the principal theatre of war.

M. Briand's recent visit to Rome has apparently quieted criticism of Italian policy

in responsible circles in Paris and London, but a large section of the Italian press still feels it necessary to defend Italy's loyalty to the Allied cause. This is done by an attempt to define the rôle which Italy can justly be expected to play. The *Corriere della Sera* has made the significant statement that Italy did not go into the war for general European purposes, but for the attainment of her own national aspirations. These happen to coincide with the Allied cause to the extent that they called for Italy's declaring war on Austria, but there is no reason why the country should go to war with Germany. Between the two countries there is no such tradition of bitter hostility, and on the military side a declaration of war against Germany would have meant, according to the *Corriere della Sera*, an attack upon Italy from Bavaria, where it is known that Germany had troops mobilized for such an eventuality. It is an explanation that hardly explains. How Italy can throw her armies against Austria without thereby directly affecting Germany's own campaigns is hard to see. On the other hand, if Germany agrees with Italy in the theory that the two are not at war, is Germany acting the faithful ally to Austria? When peace is discussed, will Austria alone have to pay for whatever successes the Italians may have gained?

In reply to the published instructions of the British Admiralty to armed merchantmen, the Berlin overseas news agency sends a copy of the instructions captured on the British steamer Woodfield. Other similar documents have been received at Washington. Presumably, Berlin singled out the strongest one it has. If so, the others must be weak as water. For in the one now forwarded by wireless, there is nothing really inconsistent with the British Admiralty's version of the orders given, or with international law. We must, of course, wait to see the full evidence on the subject which the Germans possess, but it is well to bear in mind the fearfully incriminating Belgian documents which the German Government produced with a great flourish, but which, upon a fair inspection, did not in the least prove what their German captors contended. German logic is sometimes a wonderful thing.

Purely as a matter of history Mr. Glynn, in his counter-attack upon Mr. Root, might perhaps have been more accurate in one of his allusions. Mr. Wilson does not exactly

"stand where George Washington stood in 1793, when England in the war with France seized and held hundreds of vessels floating the Stars and Stripes," and when Washington "prepared for war." In 1793 Washington was busy with an arrogant French Minister to this country, who was endeavoring, by overt act and public speeches, to embroil the United States with England. Genet was forced out as decisively as were Ambassador Dumba and Dr. Dernburg, but the real clash of that decade with a European Power came in 1798, during the next Administration, when our national dignity and honor had been affronted by the French Revolutionary Government. Then, as now, the President and Congress pulled apart, and it is not without interest to recall, as an incidental precedent, that three resolutions, offered by a Maryland member, which threw the House into a turmoil, read as follows: (1) That it is inexpedient under existing circumstances to resort to war against the French Republic; (2) that arming of merchant vessels ought to be restricted; (3) that adequate protection for our seacoast and for internal defence should be provided. This early attempt to take from the President's hands control of our foreign negotiations failed. Our State Department continued to present a firm and unyielding front to France. But there was no war.

The lion as a sucking dove, Col. Roosevelt as a gliding rubber-soled candidate for the Presidential nomination, are impersonations of equal interest. The latest of the Colonel's biographers is at pains to show that during his European and African trips he gave no thought whatever to the possibility of a nomination in 1912. His supporters now do not conceal the fact that his alleged desire to keep out of primary fights, to avoid the pledging of delegates to himself, is with an eye to the improvement of his chances at Chicago. He wishes to avoid accentuating party divisions, and to have his name brought before a gathering untroubled by rows of three months' standing. Yet already there are omens of open conflict in Massachusetts, Maine, Wisconsin, and elsewhere. The very suspicion of Roosevelt influences in unpledged delegations will lead to fights to control their personnel. And who can answer for Roosevelt's keeping the party peace upon his return? Meanwhile, the uninstructed delegations, by the showing of the Progressive Chicago *Tribune*, are manifesting a strong swing towards Hughes, and one that will grow stronger. The *Tribune*

has conducted a poll which indicates that no favorite son will enter with more than 100 bound delegates; it tries to show that the uninstructed men will lean to the Colonel, but the strength of Hughes is more frequently testified to.

St. Louis plainly desires negro segregation. The vote upon the question was about three to one in favor of the proposed ordinances. No conclusive legal decision has been rendered upon the constitutionality of such a law as was at stake in this election. The decisions in Maryland and elsewhere against segregation were made in connection with laws which prohibited negroes from residing in white wards, but were silent upon the reverse arrangement. Segregation laws since those decisions are careful to segregate on both sides, and thus to meet the requirements of "no discrimination." The arguments urged on behalf of the St. Louis ordinances were of a sort to suggest that those who made them could, and would, have brought logic to bear in defence of slavery itself. "When a negro family is living next to a white family and both have children," said the City Attorney of Louisville, author of the segregation ordinance now in force there, "conflicts are unavoidable—if not between the grown people, at least between the children"! The only way to deal with race prejudice is "to absolutely protect these two races from any intermingling." Segregation of residential districts, then, must be only the beginning, to be followed by segregation in education, in industry, and at the ballot-box—or should the black man be segregated entirely away from the voting-booth? Anyway, we have at last the two watchwords of democracy: emancipation and segregation.

North Carolina is spending more upon automobile tires than upon buildings and improvements for public schools. Her schools are older than motor-cars, but the difference between her investment in school buildings and in automobiles is only the difference between eight and nine million dollars. Her teachers and superintendents cost her \$3,428,000 last year; the upkeep of her automobiles cost her \$3,726,000. Her educational leaders are not proud of these figures. More horsepower is represented in North Carolina's automobiles than she had in all her factories half-a-dozen years ago. But one cannot jump to the conclusion that this development is an indication of unduly growing luxury; how many of these cars are

motor-trucks? Far graver, as Congressman Gardner would assure the good people of North Carolina, is the fact that we spend more upon automobile tires than we spend upon the navy. Two of our States have more chauffeurs within their borders than all the soldiers and sailors of the nation. Oh, for a Kipling to stir us with a verse about the goggled goops at the spark-plug and the muddled oafs at the wheel!

Beginners in logic are warned of the importance of remembering that from All A is B it does not follow that all B is A; a truth put into more picturesque form when, instead of the ultra-neutral letters of the alphabet, one makes such an assertion as Horace Greeley used to be fond of making about horse-thieves and Democrats. But to Congressman Carlin, chairman of the committee inquiring into the conduct of the United States District Attorney's office in New York city, it seems that a man who says that all horse-thieves are Democrats must be held responsible for the assertion that all Democrats are horse-thieves. Mr. Marshall, he says, "complains that we have summoned no one but rogues and thieves and shysters. As a matter of fact, we have summoned men we supposed were the leading lawyers of New York." But what Mr. Marshall had actually said was that "among your witnesses you had invited every rogue that you could lay your hands on to come before you and blackguard and slander me and my assistants under the full privilege of testifying before a Congressional committee." Nor is the point one of merely formal importance. If Mr. Marshall's characterization of part of the witnesses is correct, the force of what he says is in no respect broken by the fact that there were also other witnesses present whose characters were in every way unexceptionable.

Columbia's permission to women to enter her medical school follows by a few years their admission to summer courses in medicine, and will doubtless be succeeded in time by a similar letting down of the bars in law and engineering. Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and a number of Western institutions long ago demonstrated that there were no really practical objections to the opening of the medical degree to women. The medical school at Columbia is soon to be put upon an entirely new basis; the present is the sensible time to arrange for a step which would be inevitable in a few years, and the trustees perhaps have a shrewd sense that

their action may stimulate the gifts desired for the projected foundation. There has long been something anomalous in the attitude of Columbia towards women's professional education. As far back as 1879, President Barnard stated his belief that the institution was destined to "become so catholic in her liberality as to open widely her doors to all inquirers without distinction either of class or sex." Even the older professors have spoken repeatedly against rules by which, as one puts it, "an intelligent and reputable human being, simply because the accident of birth has made her a woman, may be denied the advanced and specialized training in legitimate studies taught in Columbia University."

On the seizure of art treasures there is mutual recrimination in Europe. The *Tägliche Rundschau* of Berlin asserts that the French and Romans stand alone in history as nations with an unbridled instinct for the destruction or theft of such possessions; and the French are breathless at such impudence from the incendiaries of the libraries at Strassburg and Louvain, and the systematic destroyers of Rheims and Arras. The French point to the works of art in German museums taken from the Louvre and Saint-Cloud in 1815, to the Van Eyck at Berlin which rightly belongs at Saint-Bavon, and to the Rubens of Antwerp at Vienna. The Germans inquire what has become of Rubens's "Adoration of the Shepherds," taken from Aix in Napoleon's time, or of Münster's columns of antique marble. Voluntary restitution or gift was not unknown before the war, and it is to be hoped that there will not be so much rancor as to prevent it afterward. Meanwhile, the Allies justly complain of the transportation of treasures from French and Belgian cities on the firing line on the pretext that Germany alone can give them safe housing, and of such procedure as is indicated in this from the *Tägliche Rundschau*:

Count Tisza has declared that a special commission has just been nominated, in coöperation with Germany, to estimate the value of objects contained in the museum at Belgrade and oversee their distribution. A portion of the objects, adds Count Tisza, has already been sent to Vienna, and another is to go to Berlin. . . . The silver of the Servian Court will be taken to Sofia and regarded as property of the Bulgarian Crown. So with the rich library of the seminary at Nish, which will be given to the Bulgarian National Library.

It is by no means certain that even Napoleon ever made a practice of carrying off silverware!

REASONS FOR CONGRESSIONAL UNREASON.

As we are always to beware of the man with a skeleton-key warranted to unlock every door in philosophy or religion, so we should be on our guard against the man who has a ready and simple explanation of the muddle at Washington. It is said that German intrigues account for everything; or that selfish party manœuvring is at the bottom of the difficulties; or that rival ambitions let us into the secret; or that the sleepless animosities of Mr. Bryan tell the whole story; or that the President is either too timid or too bold. But each of these theories is too short and easy. Into such a state of confusion as Washington now offers to our gaze many elements must enter. The effect is one thing, but the causes are many. Even for the height of unreason there are reasons.

For the mess into which the Administration has fallen over the question of armed merchantmen, it cannot itself be held blameless. The negotiation was not conducted with a sure and firm hand. We say nothing of the reported misunderstandings between the German Ambassador and the Secretary of State. In Mr. Lansing's note proposing a compromise in the methods of submarine warfare, a germ of trouble was visible. He did not, of course, commit our Government to the side of Germany in the matter of treating merchant vessels with arms as if they were ships of war, but he obviously leaned that way strongly. Germany and Austria could not be blamed for inferring that their point of view was about to be endorsed by the American Department of State. Nor is it strange that when the President's letter to Senator Stone made it clear that he had virtually overruled Secretary Lansing—or else had changed his own mind again—there should have been rumors of the Secretary's resignation, and that Congress should have felt all at sea on the question. The matter was not, in the beginning, so handled as to give Congress or the country a clear lead.

Independently of that, moreover, it is plain that there is a strong sentiment in the country against pressing a mere technicality, as it is regarded, in such a way as to lead us into war. This is confined to no section. It is limited to no party. Out of the fourteen Senators who, in effect, voted against the President's position on Friday last, twelve were Republicans. Indeed, one political explanation of Mr. Wilson's course

in forcing a vote in Congress has been that he wished to prove that the Republicans had their full share of hyphenates. But behind all there is undeniably a feeling that Americans should do nothing to embroil their country in war needlessly. On a sharp and clear issue of American rights violated, there can be no doubt how the mass of the people would stand, as against Germany, or England, or any other country. But it has not been widely or deeply felt that the duty of protecting Americans deliberately sailing on an armed ship of a belligerent came under this category. The question was at least debatable. The difficulty of defining the "purely defensive" armament of a merchant vessel was very great. So the matter came to be thought of as not vital. We think this was a mistake, since it did not take into account two things. One is the way in which this question related itself to the Lusitania dispute. If it seemed to the President that the German Foreign Office was proposing to take away with one hand what it was offering with the other, he was right greatly to find quarrel in a straw. The other oversight was of the fact that if we allow Germany to change international law in one particular at her own convenience, we do not know what other points she will declare to be no longer binding.

In brief, the President had come to believe that he must make a firm stand for a principle. But Congress was not fully aware of his reasons. This inevitably led to working at cross-purposes—especially as many Senators and Representatives had already committed themselves to a position opposed to that finally taken by Mr. Wilson. However, when he boldly went to Congress and demanded what was substantially a vote of confidence in his conduct of foreign affairs, it had to be given him. Yet it was natural that the reversals of attitude which this entailed upon many Congressmen led to their making wry faces and thinking unkind things of Mr. Wilson.

He, besides, is just now suffering from the accumulation of petty grievances which always overtakes a President in the third year of his term. He has trodden on many toes; put many noses out of joint; and their owners treasure resentment. In the mere matter of patronage, given or denied, Mr. Wilson has stored up for himself a good deal of what Bismarck called the "implacable hate" which dogs a statesman long in power. And all these things have been thrown into the general Congressional mix-up, and have added to it. Some kind of adjustment

will, no doubt, soon be patched up. Both the Administration and Congress will somehow manage to get along. They will probably not at once publicly embrace each other, but they may be expected before long to leave off their quarrels. On the main issue raised by Mr. Wilson, it was inconceivable that he should suffer defeat. As ex-President Taft has just said, the country feels bound to back up the President on an international question.

PRESIDENT OR PRIME MINISTER?

The President's challenge to a trouble-making element in Congress brought about a situation of dramatic interest seldom equalled in our political history. Upon its outcome turned issues of such immediate urgency and such grave consequence that for the time being all other phases of the relation of our country to the great war faded from view, alongside the question whether the President would or would not carry his point. There was, however, from the outset, little room for doubt that the President would win a more or less complete victory on the question that he had insisted upon raising.

Mr. Wilson is nothing if not practical. Whoever imagines that, when it comes to hitting heads or breaking down obstacles, he is "academic" is led astray by the wholly irrelevant circumstance that he was once a college president, and by a quite baseless notion that the typical American college president is primarily a "pedagogue." Nevertheless, we feel sure that into the decision at which the President arrived as to the form of his dealing with Congress, there entered very powerfully an element of political theory. There is one political doctrine to which, throughout his career, both before and after his entry into political life, he has shown a remarkable attachment. The idea, express or implied, of approximating our system of government to that in which the executive power is wielded by a responsible Ministry has been put forward by him on all sorts of occasions. It figured prominently in his campaign for the Governorship of New Jersey. It was plainly visible in his tour of the West, in which he "threw himself upon the country" on the issue of preparedness. In his letter to Congressman Palmer on the second-term question, he spoke of the Presidency as "passing through a transitional stage," pointed to the probability of the President in the future being made "answerable to the Houses whom he

seeks to lead," and even in referring to his duties as at present understood declared that "he must be Prime Minister, as much concerned with the guidance of legislation as with the just and orderly execution of the law." In the last phrase he went perhaps no farther than has been done by many others; but the explicit use of the appellation of Prime Minister was, we may be sure, no accident.

Now, what resemblance is there between the affair that has been going on and the process that would be set up on a similar occasion under the British parliamentary system? There need be no beating about the bush as to the answer. Superficially, there is considerable resemblance; fundamentally there is none. Congress has been confronted, indeed, with the question whether it will stand by the President or not, just as the House of Commons might be similarly challenged by the Ministry; but there the resemblance ends. If the House of Commons, on a crucial issue, votes the Ministry down, it does so with the expectation that the Ministry will resign, and that another will take its place, conforming to the sentiments of Parliament or of the country. The choice before Congress is altogether different. The President continues in office, whatever Congress may do; an adverse vote means not a new President, but the old President paralyzed. The vote, accordingly, even if it were taken in such form as directly to cover the question in controversy, would by no means necessarily be an expression of the sentiment of Congress. Those who voted to sustain the President would consist not only of those who really wished to sustain his position on the issue, or even of those who on the whole favored his policy, but would comprise all who felt that, whatever the merits of the issue, it was better to stand by the President than to paralyze the Government.

As a means, therefore, of setting at rest the talk of a formidable opposition in Congress to the President's conduct of our foreign relations, the step taken by the President may have been altogether justified by the event; in the particular emergency, it may have been the step best calculated to attain the desired result. But it has not had the effect of modifying, but rather of accentuating, the traditional relation between Congress and the Presidency. It was at the Capitol, not at the White House, that trespass was attempted. Mr. Wilson's move was not an offensive, but a counter-offensive; and if in form it departed from precedent, in substance it simply enforced precedent.

An element in Congress wanted to make him answerable to its wishes; he accepted the contest, and, on the face of things, asked Congress plainly to declare itself. But he won, not after the fashion of a Prime Minister of England drawing out the opinion of the House, but after the fashion of a President of the United States demanding that Congress stand by the Government in its dealings with a foreign nation. As a precedent, the incident of the past week does not carry us towards, but rather away from, the approximation of the rôle of a President of the United States to that of a Prime Minister of England.

THE BRANDEIS HEARINGS.

It is announced in Washington that the hearings of the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee on the nomination of Mr. Brandeis as Judge of the Supreme Court are now virtually ended. What is the net impression to be gained by a reading of the full stenographic report of the testimony? How does Mr. Brandeis emerge from the whole inquiry? In extent, it is unprecedented, we believe, in the case of a man named for the Supreme Court. What is a fair verdict on it all?

Some of the charges against Mr. Brandeis have been either disposed of or made negligible. Among them we would include the Warren case, the Harriman proxies, the Equitable case, and some other minor ones. The one attack upon Mr. Brandeis which from the first appeared the most formidable has been strengthened by the evidence now given. We mean the accusations growing out of his connection with the Shoe Machinery Company. It is impossible, in our opinion, to study the whole record in this case, including the justification attempted by Mr. Brandeis and the defence set up by his friends, without coming to the conclusion that his course was not only in clear violation of professional ethics, but was marked by a shiftiness and lack of moral delicacy which are hurtful to his reputation. Take one little point, not brought out in the Washington dispatches. When he appeared for the Shoe Machinery Company before the Massachusetts Legislature, he told the committee that he was there, not as counsel, but as a director. Yet he afterwards sent the company a bill—which was paid—for his services as counsel in this very matter. That has a bad look.

What has weighed, and still weighs, most heavily against Mr. Brandeis, as a nominee

for the Supreme Court, is the opinion of him held by his fellow-members of the bar in the city where he has spent his professional life. It was right for the committee to ask for this. In no case is it more important to obtain the verdict of the vicinage than in the instance of a man proposed for high judicial office. Senator Walsh, of Montana, indeed, sought to rule out questions going to the repute of Mr. Brandeis among his brother-lawyers, on the ground that they had nothing to do with "facts." But the other Senators properly decided that the questions on this point were both pertinent and desirable. And we must bear in mind that nothing could be more distasteful to a respectable lawyer than to give testimony adverse to the character of a fellow-member of the bar. The Boston lawyers who did so as concerns Mr. Brandeis were acting, we may be sure, only under the sense of a disagreeable duty. They did not volunteer. They were subpoenaed to tell what they knew of specific cases; but when the inquiry passed to general reputation, they stated what they believed to be the truth. And in no single instance has there been evidence that this professional dislike of Mr. Brandeis was due to his radical views on public questions. The question was always of his straightforwardness and observance of propriety as a lawyer.

The first Boston lawyer to be asked about the professional standing of Mr. Brandeis was Mr. Hollis R. Bailey. He was testifying in the Warren case. When finally asked—not his opinion—but "the general opinion of the bar of Boston in regard to Mr. Brandeis," he answered:

First, that he is a very able lawyer; that he is a man of keen intellect; that he is an able advocate; that he is not entirely trustworthy. I think that about covers it.

Mr. Moorfield Storey was more explicit and severe. His answer was:

I think his reputation is that of a man who is an able lawyer, very energetic, ruthless in the attainment of his objects, not scrupulous in the methods he adopts, and not to be trusted.

Mr. Storey was later asked how it was that some of the younger lawyers of Boston were enthusiastic for Mr. Brandeis. He replied:

There are young men who know him and young men who do not know him. Those young men who do not know him are with him. Those who do know him, I think, are against him. That is my judgment.

It is needless to pile up opinions of this kind. That they should be held so strongly by such men—men without bias or malice or anything like personal animosity against Mr. Brandeis—is certainly a good reason

why he should not have been selected for the Supreme Court.

Yet this is not to make him out a monster of duplicity. A most interesting because really human view of Mr. Brandeis was put forward by Mr. Sherman L. Whipple, of Boston. He helped to explain the feeling about Mr. Brandeis among lawyers. Mr. Brandeis has been too careless of appearances, too defiant of conventional methods, too "self centred in carrying out his own ideas," too little considerate of his fellows. Said Mr. Whipple:

I think if Mr. Brandeis had been a different sort of man—not so aloof, not so isolated, with more of the comradery of the bar, gave his confidence to more men, and took their confidence; said, to them, when he was charged with anything that was doubtful, "Boys, what do you think about it?" and talked it over with them—you would not have heard the things you have heard in regard to him.

That sounds reasonable, and is, as we have said, a human interpretation of Mr. Brandeis; but it does not prove his fitness for the Supreme Court.

"SCRAPPING" FORTRESSES AND TRENCHES.

In General Headquarters behind the French and the German lines they have been casting up accounts and trying to deduce some lesson from the ten days' battle around Verdun. But that is because Joffre and Falkenhayn have neglected to cable New York, where the lessons of the battle were recognized soon after the arrival of the first bulletins. Here we know that henceforth trenches have been "scrapped" even as fortresses were scrapped after the first weeks of the war. What the lesson will be next week no one will venture to say, of course, except that it will be as conclusive and as permanent as this week's lesson. The speed with which we interpret events on the battle-front is only equalled by the speed with which we revise our interpretations. In itself that is a good thing. It shows not only our hearty participation in Europe's trials, but a sincere attempt to understand what is going on. Joffre and Falkenhayn are also revising their theories in the light of experience, but we doubt whether their conclusions are so radical and so clear-cut as our own. The commanders on either side probably check up their opinions against what happened yesterday, but not to the neglect of what happened before yesterday back to August, 1914.

Has it been shown conclusively that permanent fortifications are a failure? If one

asked the Kaiser, he might say, "Yes—Belgian and French and Russian fortresses." He will reserve his opinion regarding the enemy's being able to do to Metz or Thorn what the German guns did to Namur and Maubeuge and Novogeorgievsk. But even among the Allies it is by no means certain that the futility of fortresses is admitted. It is all a matter of what rôle the permanent fortification is expected to play. If we think of Liège and Namur, of Verdun and Toul, of Kovno and Novogeorgievsk, as impregnable barriers against which an enemy is expected to batter himself to pieces, then the fortress is a failure. In an endurance test against heavy artillery, it is bound to lose. Its casemates and its guns, fixed once for all, offer the enemy a mathematically certain range, whereas the assailant's heavy guns can be shifted from place to place, as was done around Maubeuge. The result is a foregone conclusion. Ultimately the weight of enemy metal is bound to crush all resistance, and if the fortress is completely surrounded, as in the case of Maubeuge, it means not only the loss of the place, but of its defenders.

But if the purpose of the fortress is not to hold back the enemy permanently, but only to delay him, the history of the present war may yet show that even for the Allies this object was realized. Liège may have held up the Germans only for three days, and Namur for two days, but it is not unlikely that this delay of less than a week was the principal factor in the frustration of the German rush upon Paris. The fall of Maubeuge came while the battle of the Marne was under way, but Maubeuge held back a considerable German force and a great many guns which might have conceivably played an important part on the Marne. For two weeks after the fall of Warsaw the fortress of Novogeorgievsk kept engaged a large portion of von Hindenburg's troops. When we recall how hasty was the Russian retreat from the Vistula, how for weeks it was a question almost of hours whether that retreat would be cut off, the delay at Novogeorgievsk takes on a new meaning. The underlying idea of the great fortress barrier on France's eastern frontier is believed to have been this prime necessity of gaining a respite for the mustering of the field armies, given Germany's superior facilities for mobilization.

We cannot be too sure, therefore, that permanent fortifications will be discarded in the wars of the future. What is more likely is that the technique of permanent fortifications will be radically revised. Citadel and

outlying walls and permanent gun emplacements may be discarded, and in their stead may come a maze of trenches and redoubts and galleries. The fortress of the future will perhaps be a subterranean fortress with the great guns pointing up from craters instead of pointing down from beneath armored cupolas. Even then it will suffer from the disadvantage of being a fixed position. If trenches can be destroyed by gunfire, the subterranean fortress will not be impregnable. But it will be more difficult to destroy, and so will perform its delaying functions more efficiently. The fortress of the future will be planned with an eye to economizing the men needed to work the guns. Beaten armies will not take refuge inside of fortifications, but will prefer to take their chances in the open field. Like the Russians at Przemyśl and the Turks at Erzerum, future commanders will hold permanent fortifications with a minimum garrison, and employ their main strength in trenches before and behind the stronghold.

If, therefore, after nineteen months of trial it is still impossible to pronounce a verdict on the efficiency of permanent fortifications, it is altogether absurd to speak of trenches as being scrapped on the showing around Verdun. Why this sudden realization should have come ten months after the Teutonic armies shattered the Russian trenches in Galicia, it is hard to say. It has been known all along that a sufficient concentration of artillery could wipe out trenches. It still remains true that against an enemy provided with men and munitions this concentration cannot be effected on a sufficiently wide front to bring a decisive result. The lesson of Verdun may be read just the other way. We must take it that against Verdun the Germans put in every ounce of strength they could bring to bear. Yet their gains, though impressive when measured by the standard of trench warfare, are altogether incommensurate with what a similar effort would have brought under the old system of open fighting. Trenches may be taken, but if the victor needs six months to catch his breath, like the Allies after the battles of last September, it is plain that trenches are far from being scrapped.

ROYAL AUTHORS.

Versatility rather than exceptional merit marked the literary output of Elizabeth of Rumania, widow of the late King Charles. She wrote with ease in German, which was her native tongue, in French, in English,

and in the language of her adopted country. Something of her fame was probably due to the happy selection of a pseudonym. "Carmen Sylva" is a name that comes trippingly from the tongue. A good deal she owed probably to the fact that we all feel about kings and queens in literature as Samuel Johnson felt about the performing dog, the wonder being not that they write well, but that they write at all. Yet when one stops to think, the tradition of royal authorship is an ancient one, and literary reputations acquired by exalted personages are not always meretricious. They start, of course, with an enormous advantage. They live in the heart of great events, and a simple phrase, by its context, may become literature. E. V. Lucas, in "The Gentlest Art," a charming anthology of letter-writing, cites one famous letter, written by a king. It runs: "Set ye Uriah in the forefront of the hottest battle, and retire ye from him, that he may be smitten, and die." It is an advantage shared by great commanders with their curt messages of victory. One British writer has recently laid claim to the title of literature for the following report by an English admiral: "Fell in with the enemy's fleet; burnt, sunk, or captured as per margin."

The writer of the first letter we have quoted has independent claims to literary distinction. He was a poet of considerable merit, and his verse, in whole or in part, is probably more widely read nearly three thousand years after his death than that of any other poet, royal or burgher, having been translated into hundreds of languages and dialects. Talent, moreover, seems to have run in the family if we accept the tradition which assigns to his son the authorship of the oldest recorded poetic drama, "The Song of Songs." The only royal family which apparently can compare with the house of Jesse in the matter of literary attainments is the house of Stuart. To James I of Scotland is credited one of the earliest lyric works written in Great Britain, "The King's Quhair." To his descendant, Mary, Queen of Scots, is assigned one of the most beautiful of Latin religious songs, "O Domine Jesu, speravi in te." Mary's son, James the First of England, dabbled in polemic literature; he assailed the use of tobacco fiercely. Not long before him a King of England went in for religious controversy. In his attack on Luther Henry VIII showed the resources of the Latin language in the matter of Billingsgate. If one looked for a very sharp contrast to Henry VIII as author, one might find it in the work of a

Roman Emperor, the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius, or might go as far as India, where a king named Sudraka gave to Sanscrit literature perhaps its most charming comedy, "The Toy Cart."

The most prolific of royal authors is undoubtedly Frederick II, the Great, of Prussia. His literary output fills thirty volumes. His correspondence was enormous, but that dates from the later period of his life. In 1739, at the age of twenty-seven and a year before he succeeded to the throne, he wrote what is probably his best-known book, the "Anti-Machiavel," in which the Italian statesman is described as a "moral monstrosity." Frederick followed this up the next year by invading Silesia in full violation of Maria Theresa's copyright. The German Empire of to-day may perhaps be described as the collected works of Frederick the Great, but that is neither here nor there. He wrote much on statecraft, and a great deal of history, including the story of the house of Brandenburg, a history of the Seven Years' War, and a history of Europe from the Treaty of 1763 to the end of the partition of Poland, about which event Frederick had a fund of first-hand information.

For the literary historian this question of exalted authorship presents a difficult problem when it comes to the appraisal of true values. We have it on good authority that Caius Julius Cæsar would have taken a distinguished place among classic writers even if he had dealt with a smaller subject than the conquest of Gaul. But it is harder to determine how much of Mr. Roosevelt's writings are to form a part of the permanent stock of American literature. It is certain, however, that the compilers will go to his nature books rather than to his Presidential messages. A minimum of literary merit is to be exacted even from the most powerful of sovereign authors. A writer in the *Nation* has recently rejected Napoleon III's claims, based on the "History of Julius Cæsar," and he is even more outspoken about the speeches of William II of Germany. The author of the preface to the Kaiser's speeches in a collection of German classics had written:

No German personality has given to the literature of the world such a powerful and complete expression of these opposing energies in the German mind as Emperor William II. Truly the Emperor speaks and acts as a powerful realist, apparently unhampered by any romanticism or idealism or mysticism.

Unquestionably, if we accept the Lusitania as a notable contribution to that realistic criticism of life which makes literature.

Foreign Correspondence

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY — FRANCE'S NEED.

By STODDARD DEWEY.

Paris, February 19.

I wonder if Americans are properly impressed with the enormous, unprecedented, unlimited, unmanageable trade which this Old World war is bringing them.

There's luck in odd numbers, said Rory O'More. Surely, no nation ever saw odder statistics piling up in its favor than the United States at this present.

For her needs of national defence, for provisioning her armies, and even her civil population, France is now buying almost exclusively in the United States whatever she cannot produce at home. How much this is the money exchange shows. There is no doubt about England's purchases and their extent. Italy and Russia are even obliged to get from America the greater part of their war material. So much for the Allies. Germany and Austria, in spite of the blockade, keep on receiving no inconsiderable amount of American provisions—through neutral, honest brokers. And neutrals themselves, besides their normal supplies from America, have to look to the United States for the provisions which in other times they drew from Europe.

Latin America has profited by this sudden and continuous demand beyond all that was ever thought possible, but not at all to the same extent as the United States. It has neither our factories nor our rail- and waterways, nor ports nor ships for so vast and imperative a trade. Even in the United States, who has not heard of the 100,000 freight cars waiting for free tracks to New York; of the port of New York devoid of sufficient means of communication from railways to shipping wharves and devoid of sufficient wharfing for the ships; devoid also of men to put our goods on board the ships—and, when there are no ships from abroad for us, devoid of ships of our own for our own trade?

In the long run, having goods to sell and customers to buy, we shall not have had the means to deliver more than a fraction. What opportunities for money-making lost!

Perhaps it is no mourning matter. Ever since Washington Irving invented the "Almighty Dollar," we have been reproaching ourselves for worshipping it. And, in reality, as the money exchange tells the tale, we have not been doing so badly. Americans in Europe, who can already foresee the different, but quite as measureless, needs of the first years after war is over, wonder if we shall be better prepared then than now to gather in for ourselves all the money-making. "Preparedness" is surely a chief part of "efficiency," although both label abstract idols. What of the real gods?

For riches certainly make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle toward heaven. . . . The ants are a people not strong, yet they prepare their meat in the summer.

Take the needs of France, taking it, too, for granted that she will have back the portion of her territory which is now occupied by the German army. It is but a fraction in extent, but it represents nearly one-fourth of her money-making power. Territory is valuable

in proportion as it is worked—but then, when peace comes, the instruments of work will be wanting.

Mining properties have been dilapidated—wantonly made unworkable for a time—factories have been gutted of their machinery, which has disappeared across the Rhine. Workmen's houses and farmers' buildings have been destroyed or ruined in many places. Thus, in the great city of Lille, in one quarter 1,000 houses are gone and 800 in another. It has been a part of the policy of frightfulness, not only to destroy the war force of France, but to disable her power of recovery with peace.

This supposes that, when peace comes, there will be a measureless demand for machinery of mines and manufactures and agriculture; and this not only France, but the whole of Europe together will be utterly unable to supply. And just so far as America is unable to fill the want, just so far the material prosperity of Europe and the world will have been set back by this war.

It has been said that such a war, if it lasts long enough, will realize Wells's "Time machine" and bring us back to the state of Europe after the Thirty Years' War. We have already seen it, in war morals, throw us back to a frightfulness unknown since Grotius. But here there is question of material prosperity.

Morals will take care of themselves, as may be seen among the French people in the course of this war. The Belgian Catholic missionary whom Cecil Rhodes found ahead of him in darkest Zambesi-land remarked: "You cannot make a savage a Christian until you have made him a man." So you cannot restore civilization until you have made good the material prosperity of the countries which have been de-civilized.

France, largely by the labor of French women, still gives about 60 per cent. of her production of times of peace. Her people will aid their own of the wasted regions, and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu has said that perhaps the restoration of Belgium will have to be undertaken by France and England—in default of the German destroyer. But labor and thrift and savings from the past can not produce machines by sheer good-will, nor build houses nor replenish the stock of cattle. All these must look to America.

Even while war is still on, English Quakers with conscientious objections to fighting have tried to "do their little bit" by rebuilding the houses in the French departments which were delivered from the enemy after the victory of the Marne. It has not been a charity; those are paying who can. In single villages there have been hundreds of such houses erected. Unconscious of any religious bearing of the name, the country people have accepted these objectors to war at their own valuation—*les amis* ("friends"). Now peace will ask from Americans friendliness indeed, but most of all trade—full supply for a crying demand.

France is but one unit, as people say now in hospital demands. Italy, without the destruction of war on her territory, will ask for Indian corn as now. Serbia, like Belgium, will need everything. And every country, belligerent or neutral, in this Old World will need money to borrow on good interest. No, Americans will never again have such an opportunity for money-making.

To right and to left; stop, turn, and go yonder,
And let us reflect, o'er the flood as we wander,
How pleasant it is to have money, heigh ho!
How pleasant it is to have money.

A MOVEMENT TO ENCOURAGE CIVILIANS.

By JAMES F. MUIRHEAD.

LONDON, February 15.

In the years between 1890 and 1910 the name of Col. Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.I.E., was, for many reasons, familiar to all readers of English newspapers and books. His travels in the Pamirs and Central Asia, his work at Chitral (1893-1895) and in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, his leading of the historic British Mission to Tibet (1902-1904), and the reforms he accomplished as British Resident in Cashmere (1906-1909), materially affecting the welfare and happiness of thousands of our Indian fellow-citizens, all combined such elements of the adventurous and the picturesque with their more enduring and practical services to humanity that they brought him somewhat prominently into the limelight of popular interest and admiration. In 1910 the intrepid traveller and soldier, who had passed unscathed through many dangers of unusual hazard, was run over by an automobile in a quiet and peaceful country road of Belgium, and suffered injuries involving great bodily agony and many long months of enforced inactivity. One result of this was a book entitled "Within: Thoughts during Convalescence" (1912), the great interest of which for many readers lay in the fact that it exhibited the mature and experienced traveller, officer, and administrator going through a sort of *Sturm und Drang* crisis such as we usually associate with the period of adolescence—a fact that, of course, gives a very special tinge to this wrestle with the ultimate realities.

This little book may be said to have revealed to the wider public the true character of a man who combines the simple and straightforward manliness of a typical English "gentleman" with a rich vein of spirituality, a man whose "ideals arise out of an unusual experience of real life." When, therefore, it transpired that Sir F. Younghusband was establishing a society to encourage a deeper and truer sense of the duties of British civilians in face of this cataclysmal war, it was little wonder that the "Fight for Right Movement" met with a wide and speedy response. Several of his warmest supporters bear names well known in America, such as Lord Bryce (president), Sir Frederick Pollock (chairman of committee), Prof. Gilbert Murray, Mr. Thomas Hardy, Mr. Maurice Hewlett, Dr. L. P. Jacks, Dr. G. W. Prothero, and Mrs. Stuart Moore (Evelyn Underhill). The initial steps in launching the movement were taken in South Wales during the summer of 1915, and were followed by a series of meetings in London. The object of the movement is "to heighten and sustain the spirit of the nation in the long struggle against Germany; that it may be able to accept with cheerfulness the great sacrifices which every citizen must face if the war is to be carried through to a decisive victory, and may refuse all temptations—however insidious—to the conclusion of a premature peace." It emphasizes the fact that passive and legal duties are not enough, that there must be no non-combatants, that every citizen must bear his or her share. Members are pledged to "fight for Right till Right be won," by perpetual effort in right and unfaltering thought, wise and courageous speech, diligent and unselfish work." The programme of the movement means "the

complete devotion of each citizen to the great task of the whole, the placing of national interests before private preferences." It wishes to appeal not only to those who naturally accept its principles, but to the ignorant, the indolent, the grumblers, the fault-finders, the discouraged—still, unfortunately, an appreciable factor of our population.

The society belongs to no sect or party; it welcomes all who wish to fight against those whose ways tend to create an atmosphere of gloom. It realizes that for England the hardest part of the war is yet to come, and that the spirit of its people is "the one thing that will enable us to fight through till right be won." It believes that "an inconclusive peace would be a worse crime against humanity than that which Germany has herself committed." Its chief methods of action are the holding of meetings, specially adapted to various localities and classes; the establishment of branches throughout the country; the personal influence and example of members, and the distribution of appropriate literature.

Notes from the Capital

SENATOR GORE.

The spectacular performance of Senator Thomas Pryor Gore, of Oklahoma, in introducing a resolution which brought the friction between the President and Congress to a head, is not so wonderful when we reflect that he started in his political career as a Gulf State Populist, and remained in that camp till after the Bryan campaign of 1896. Populism was built up on oratory rather than on logic, and Gore is an orator before anything else. Even the argumentative passages in his speeches have a florid touch that marks them as distinctively his own; and, in spite of his avoidance of parading his infirmity in any way, they undoubtedly derive no small proportion of their interest from the fact of his being totally blind. When a speaker with a heap of reference volumes before him faces down an adversary by copious citations of statistical lore, nobody marvels at his readiness; but when a sightless orator, dependent for every fact and figure upon his memory of what some one has read aloud to him, undertakes a similar feat, he can hardly fail to capture the admiring attention of his audience.

Gore was not born blind, neither did he lose his sight by degrees after he had reached mature years and had planned his future, as did Judge West, the eloquent blind political leader in Ohio. It was while he was a lad that one of his eyes was put out by a playmate and the other by his own careless handling of a bowgun, both accidents occurring before he was twelve. From that hour began the habit of mental concentration which enables him to repeat verbatim long excerpts from Government reports or brilliant literary quotations which have been gone over in his hearing only once or twice at the most. In spite of his praiseworthy efforts to make the best of a bad matter, however, he has suffered from the same trouble which all persons experience whose points of contact with men and affairs are reduced by the loss of an important sense: he cannot get a well-rounded conception of a situation out of the ordinary. To a legislator with the normal complement of physical faculties, for instance, the present would have appeared a most in-

opportune time for spurring Congress to squabble with the President over a subject primarily within his official jurisdiction, and thus give him not only an excuse but direct provocation for administering to it a sharp lesson in the proprieties.

Notwithstanding such shortcomings now and then, Gore's tendency to act on impulse, and his lack of perspective as to consequences, sometimes work to the public advantage. Thus, a half-dozen years ago, he exposed in Congress the machinations of a gang of grafters to defraud the Indians resident in his State. A more prudent man might have thought twice before inviting a fight like that which obviously lay before him. But Gore never quailed. He sprang his scandal, and stayed with it to the end, though it reached into quarters where he would rather have remained at peace. Ever since then he has been under fire from the damaged parties, their missiles ranging from charges of bribery to impeachments of his private morals.

As I have indicated, Gore puts a brave front upon his affliction. Seen from a little distance, there is nothing about him to suggest that he is not like other men, except perhaps his habit of walking arm-in-arm with a companion and a slight unnatural stiffness of carriage. When he speaks in the Senate he stands behind his desk like most of his fellow members, making few gestures, and usually with his face correctly turned towards whomever he is addressing. If he is merely injecting a few remarks into a general debate, he is apt to keep the tips of his fingers on the desk lid; but a favorite attitude when he is taking a more formal part is with his head thrown well up, and a half-folded sheet of paper in one hand, as if he were referring occasionally to manuscript notes. He has, in public speaking and also in private conversation, a trick of using phrases like "I saw in this morning's newspapers a statement—," or "I have repeatedly seen on the farms of Oklahoma—," as if his eyes were as perfect as those of any one. Moreover, this is done with no self-consciousness. Sometimes one is almost forced to believe that he does see, so abnormally keen is his sensitiveness to his surroundings; as when, on the piazza of a country house, he requested a neighbor to cease rocking on his hat. The offender was quite unaware of having done this, but, glancing down, discovered that one rocker of his chair was actually grazing the brim of a hat which the Senator had laid on the floor; yet the hat was not touching Gore or his chair, and was too soft to emit any noise with its chafing.

The practice of ignoring his blindness as far as practicable is a fixed part of Gore's life regimen. He is always appreciative of courtesies shown him by others, if unaccompanied by any manifestation of pity—a grace for which he has no toleration when exercised towards himself. When he first became blind his father planned to send him to an institution for the training of children so afflicted, but Thomas rebelled. "No, sir," said he, "I'll get my education here at home, with the other boys." Through his school and college days, and afterwards when studying for the bar, he asked no odds of any competitor so long as he could have some one read his lessons to him. This spirit of independence has been one of his most notable traits ever since, and, while handicaps other than physical will assure his not figuring in history as one of the country's great men, no fair-minded critic will deny him an abundance of character.

TATTLER.

Turkey's Subject Races and the Young Turks

THE YOUNG TURKS' POLITICAL PROGRAMME, AND ITS AGGRESSIVE CHAUVINISM CONSIDERED AS THE DIRECT CAUSE OF THE GENERAL UNREST AND REVOLTS AMONG THE SUBJECT RACES.

By E. G. TABET, M. D.

The glory of the Turkish arms reached and passed its zenith in the reign of Sultan Suleiman I, called the Magnificent. After his death, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the history of the Ottoman Empire became one long record of demoralization and decline. That she has nevertheless escaped total collapse is due to the conflicting interests of the European Powers and, in a smaller measure, to the diversity in race, religion, and language of her composite peoples. The latter condition has afforded the ruling race an exceptional opportunity to apply the Roman formula of *divide et impera*, and it was employed in ruthless fashion, the purposes of the ruling class being particularly facilitated by the fact that the Turkish Sultan was also the Moslem Caliph. This assumed title, in spite of its obsolete significance, reduced the Moslem masses to abject lethargy and inaction, and, as a result, political activities on the part of the Christian minority were impossible, or, at best, hazardous and fruitless, unless supported by foreign interference.

These have been the principal factors to which Turkey owes her continued existence. Apart from them, no constructive measures of a serious nature have been attempted; at any rate, nothing fruitful has been accomplished. Of the twenty-five Sultans who have reigned over the Empire since Suleiman's death, Mahmoud II stands as the only one, perhaps, who had the spirit of a true reformer. But the reforms which he introduced were mainly of a military character, and, besides, the failure of his example as well as of his actual attempts at reform to produce any appreciable improvement serves as evidence of the Empire's advanced disorganization. Similarly, the Khatt-ul-Hamayouni of Mahmoud's son, Sultan Abdul-Mejid, granting his Christian subjects their religious liberties, tends to show how far behind the age had Turkey lagged; let alone the fact that these reforms came as a result of successive Russo-Turkish wars, which had as one of their professed aims the liberation or the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte. In short, these measures, with the abortive Constitutional movement of 1876, made up practically the full record of Turkish reforms, at best non-organic and isolated instances, during all the period of the last three centuries and more.

I.

The one effort that looked like a promising revival came only as late as 1908, when

the Constitution was forced on Sultan Abdul-Hamid by the military *coup d'état* of July 23. Unfortunately, however, it failed. In fact, it only showed more conclusively the hopelessness of reorganization from within. And the irony of it is that, outside of rooted organic causes, the responsibility of its failure falls on the party with whose name is associated the inauguration of the new régime, namely, the Young Turks, also known as the Committee of Union and Progress. This responsibility justly rests on them because in office, as the Unionist Government, or out of it, as the powerful "Committee," they ruled supreme. To say the least, the policy which they conceived as the means of "freeing" and "consolidating" the new Turkey fell too far outside the range of practical politics. Put in a concrete form, it resolves itself into, first, the Turkifying of the races; secondly, the reducing to political impotency of the Christian subjects; thirdly, the materialization of international pan-Islamism, and also of local Islamism for internal politics; and, lastly, the abrogating of the "Capitulations." Not only the spirit, but also the essentials, of this programme may be gathered from the resolutions adopted at the Young Turks' Congress held in Salonica, October, 1912.

To begin with, it was inconceivable that the foreign Governments would relinquish their treaty rights, involving the liberty of person and the inviolability of domicile of their citizens assured by the Capitulations, on no stronger guarantee than the promulgation of a Constitution, as yet on paper and one which was likely to be abolished at any time. As to pan-Islamism, like a sword of Damocles over the head of Europe, no more need be said than that it was a megalomaniac presumption, a mental aberration. Apart from the Young Turks, none believed less in its realization than Turkey's subjects themselves. On the contrary, they perceived that it was both futile and perilous. In a pamphlet by the present writer, published in January, 1912, under the title, "The Scourge of the East," the subject was touched upon in words to the following effect: The spirit which pervaded the early days of the new era has disappeared with the firm establishment in power of its inaugurators: it is no more a spirit of common "Ottomanism," but, first, of "Turkism," and, secondly, of "Islamism," the latter as only a means to an end. The issue has become clear; its evils have yet to be seen. One menacing sign, however, is already tangible: the Arab and Syrian Moslems resent the Turkifying factor, and the Christian is alienated by the politico-Islamic note. . . . But what should be a matter for greater reflection is the outside meddling with such delicate questions. For, above the foreign reprisals that such interference may entail on the Sultanate, it may also result in incalculable injury to dependent Islamic countries whose cause it professes to espouse.

But if international pan-Islamism is a megalomaniac obsession, the conception of race assimilation is more than an illusion.

Aside from the impossibility of the task, neither in number nor in culture are the Turks superior to the races whom the Young Turks would Turkify. On the contrary, the Arabs alone are greater in number, and can, moreover, as history testifies, lay claim to cultural possibilities. For the rest, even with exclusive control of the Empire and its peoples for centuries, the Turks have failed to show any merit that would entitle them to continue their mastery over these various nationalities, still less to absorb them.

II.

Even before the first opening of Parliament, in December, 1908, signs of racial friction were already in evidence. Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and other Christian elements felt chagrined at the aggression of the Young Turks in the general elections, which resulted in the Christians being practically squeezed out. Albanians, and even Turks, not belonging to the "Committee" organization, lost their elections through the same interference. The Syrian Christians, by reason of their politico-geographical segregation, were left virtually unrepresented—two members for nearly half a million people. The Syrian Moslems and Arabs in general remonstrated that the seats assigned to them were far below their numerical ratio. On the other side, the Young Turk group in Parliament and their press outside, elated with the rôle which their party had played in the institution of the new régime, met these various complaints with taunts and derision, the Moslem Syrians and Arabs being made a special target for attack. The racial breach kept widening until the whole country was virtually in a state of political anarchy. The consequence was that it soon became divided into two main camps: the Unionists or Nationalists, generally called the Centralizationists, composed, with few exceptions, of Turks; and the Autonomists, or Decentralizationists, consisting of Moslem Syrians, Arabs, Albanians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and a few representative Turks. The former wished to force the programme before referred to, and the latter, represented by their parliamentary groups, desired, besides local autonomy, their relative share in the general administration. Hence the racial conflict which followed, with its sequels of general *malaise*, unrest, and revolts. Parliamentary representation was non-existent except in name. Military dictatorship, under the mask of a constitutional form of government, was in fact the actual rule.

Nor was this racial conflict, with its imperilling consequences, a development unforeseen. Many clear-sighted Turks, notably Prince Sabah-Uddin, the nephew of the present Sultan, had repeatedly warned against the centralization policy. As early as the first month of the new régime the *London Times* published an interview with Marshal Fouad Pasha, cabled by the writer, striking an emphatic warning. Said this distinguished exile of Abd-ul-Hamid: "The

only suitable form of government for our heterogeneous nationalities is home rule on the lines of the Swiss system. The races must be accorded this form of government, as otherwise racial conflict may start, which would end in the disruption of the Empire."

But the hotheads of the Young Turkey party were determined that none should share the rule with the Turks, and of them only those who belonged to the Jacobin wing of the Committee organization. As a matter of fact, the Young Turk of legend, he who had done as much as any in the overthrow of the old régime—Niazi Bey, Prince Sabah-Uddin, Dr. Riza Tewfik, and others—had long since been shelved, exiled, or imprisoned; those who remained, and who form the present government, are the Young Turks of the pitiless fact—Enver, Talaat, *et al.* And the latter, to quote from the words of Lord Bryce, as reported recently from Paris, are the men "who do not intend to permit the existence of any national vitality except in their own" constituency. This intention, now made more definite by the Armenian atrocities, had long before found its concrete expression in more than one measure envisaging race assimilation. As examples, mention may be made of the following:

The Senate, an appointed body, was made, with a few exceptions, exclusively Turkish. The Turks, comparatively a small minority, by arbitrary methods of the Unionist Government, had close to a majority in the Chamber. The seats in the Cabinet, excepting one and occasionally two, were occupied by Turkish Ministers. Valis, Mutasarrefs, presidents of the various courts—in short, chiefs of all governmental bureaus in districts of first and second degree, were, with rare exceptions, all Turks. The commands in the army and navy, needless to say, were exclusively in Turkish hands. It is true that conditions were not better under the old régime, but then there was no constitution, assuring to all equality of political rights.

But that was not the worst. Far-reaching innovations were introduced, striking at the language itself. A Ministerial order made the Turkish language obligatory in all native, or private, schools, even the most elementary, and the native tongue was not permitted in the curriculum of the few governmental schools. Another decree followed, making the knowledge of Turkish a *sine qua non* for all governmental posts. A third made it the only medium of intercourse in the transaction of all official business, even in the judicial and the criminal courts. The striking injustice of the last two measures, in particular, can only be appreciated when it is known that in the Arabic-speaking countries, comprising many millions of people, the Turkish language is but rarely spoken, or not at all. The Albanians were further exasperated by being forbidden the use of the Latin characters in their alphabet, on the pretext that that would constitute a sacrilege! Meanwhile, Macedonia was chafing under an increasing influx of Moslem

immigrants, methodically transplanted *en masse* from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and distributed among its villages. On the other hand, Christians were prevented from acquiring new lands. The object of this double policy was to effect a politico-geographical segregation of the native Christian element. Although this process of Moslem implantation was ostensibly carried on by the Committee of Union and Progress, in reality it was promoted and subsidized by the Unionist Government.

III.

The expected came: there gradually developed a general unrest among the races. A long and costly campaign against Al-Imam Yehya in the Yemen and Al-Iddrsi in the A'ssir ended in both these provinces being lost to Turkey in all but name. Albania's third revolt, coming coincidentally with the Macedonian agitation of 1912, had far-reaching consequences: it drove the Young Turk leaders, for the time being, out of power, and incidentally paved the way to the Balkan War, which came near to precipitating Turkey's *débâcle*. For the rest, discontent was prevalent everywhere, and if it failed to crystallize in armed revolts in Armenia, Syria, and other Arabic-speaking countries, it was only because they were impotent. They had suffered more than the others in that, because of their tameness, they were made to shoulder the burden of over-taxation in order that the ever-increasing demands might be met of a Government squandering its revenue, at best limited and insufficient, on all but constructive reforms. The Christian element, in particular, had its patience severely taxed, and, as usual, the Armenians suffered most. Omitting details, the plan of the Young Turk Government with regard to the Christians was to segregate them politically, and even to force their emigration by all possible means. Of course, most of their work in this direction was done in an underhand way, so that, though mercilessly methodical, it should not occasion a possible protest by one or any of the European Powers.

The Moslems of Syria and other Arabic-speaking countries were no less dissatisfied. Some foreign writers have ascribed the resentment of non-Turkish Moslem peoples to their reactionary spirit. This may be true of Arabia proper, but not of the Syrian or even the Albanian Moslem. The former, in particular, is among the most intelligent of the races in the Ottoman Empire, and the last two decades have seen him make rapid progress in education on modern lines. With the advent of the new régime a revival of the old Arab spirit was awakened in him, and it was intensified by the ruthless encroachment of the Turkifying policy on his nationality and language. Thus, instead of sharing in the general administration as he had hoped, he had to battle against losing his individuality. For the first time since the Turkish conquest, the one personal tie which drew him to the Turk, and which had hypnotized him for so long, namely,

Islamism, was lessened, and the national ties of race, language, and soil assumed their deserved significance. The Moslems and the Christians, for the first time since the Moslem invasion, met politically together and on equal terms; the common woe, their eyes now open, had united them. What with more aggravations every day, with business paralyzed through successive revolts and foreign wars, with no progress to compensate in any way, they both came to the same conclusion, that the Young Turk, like the old Turk, even if he had the best intentions in the world, was incapable of administration, still less of reorganization on a large scale. It further became the prevalent conviction that reorganization could only be effected through European assistance, and then only if directed for a number of years by the same party. What is more, and it may seem strange, Kiamil Pasha, the astute Turkish statesman, expressed the same idea, but with more emphasis. In a private audience accorded to two representatives of the Beirut Reform League—a Moslem-Christian organization—during his passage in the spring of 1913 through that city, Kiamil Pasha spoke in part to the following effect: The Empire faces imminent danger. Unless it is put under European control, the adventurers (meaning the Young Turk Government) will, within two or three years, have brought on its dismemberment. Even now, he added, it may be already too late to save it.

But long before this Moslem-Christian accord, a secret move had been made to effect, if possible, the annexation of Syria to Egypt, Egypt being, after all, a Moslem state. The ex-Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, was approached, and he showed great interest in the proposal. But his suggestion that a *fait accompli* must precede any possible move by Egypt was considered dilatory and insufficient, and because of that, and particularly because Sir Eldon Gorst was unapproachable on the matter, the project was dropped—a rather good illustration, by the way, of the ex-Khedive's "friendliness" to Turkey, on the one hand, and of British "instigation" on the other! This episode, made public for the first time in these lines, is from a direct source, and it is cited here as an instance of how exasperated the subject races had become; among them, even the most loyal to Moslem Turkey was finally driven to commit seditious acts. What was more, the Arab and Albanian revolts, of which the same aggressiveness was the direct cause, were what paved the way to foreign wars—which always ended in Turkish defeat, greater indebtedness, and further territorial loss.

This is a résumé of the last seven years of Turkish political history—a record of Turkey bleeding her own veins. The Turco-German vaunt that the Arabs are attached to the "mother" country—a term never used in speaking of Turkey before the war—nay, that even the whole Moslem world is only abiding

its time to do the bidding of the Turkish Caliph and his German ally, the Muhib-ul-Islam, is a sad consolation. Only a short time ago eleven of these Moslem Arabs, all leaders of thought among their people, were hanged in the city of Beirut—for "plotting," not because of "deep attachment." With peoples thus kept together only by force, the Young Turk Government has embarked in its last suicidal adventure—the hurling of a tottering Empire into the struggle of Europe. The recent developments in its Asiatic section, together with others impending, will in all probability force her to sue for a separate peace. The question is, Will the Allied Powers treat with a group of adventurers, to use a mild term, who call themselves the Turkish Government, or will they accept only an unconditional surrender? Whatever may be done, it is to be hoped that the injustice to Turkey's subjects in the Berlin Treaty of 1876 will not be repeated, and that the malingering disease of the Sick Man of Europe will not be left to remain a germ for future European contentions.

Book Notes and Byways

THE LOST VOLUME OF O'LEARY'S MEMOIRS.

By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

Daniel F. O'Leary was an adventurous native of Ireland. When a mere youth he became deeply interested in the insurrection against Spanish rule in America. Accordingly he joined some Englishmen who wished to liberate South America from the heavy yoke of Spain. In March, 1818, as ensign in a squadron of hussars commanded by an adventitious leader, Colonel Wilson, O'Leary reached Angostura, Venezuela. The young ensign was soon appointed lieutenant of a band of revolutionists who were fighting to establish the independence of Venezuela and New Granada from the motherland. With the soldiers of the valiant leader, General José Anzoátegui, O'Leary took part in the campaign of Bolívar that culminated on August 7, 1819, in the battle of Boyacá—a decisive defeat for the Royalists in the viceroyalty of New Granada. A little later O'Leary became a member of the military staff of General Simón de Bolívar, the revolutionary genius who had already been styled the Liberator of Venezuela by his admiring compatriots. In one capacity or another, O'Leary was on intimate terms with the great leader during an entire decade. The young Irishman participated in Bolívar's campaign which terminated in the battle of Carabobo, June 24, 1821. That battle insured the independence from Spain of the captaincy-general of Venezuela; it was followed by the adoption of a permanent constitution for "Great Colombia," which was composed of New Granada and Venezuela.

Early in 1822 Bolívar, who had been elected President of Great Colombia, sent O'Leary to the audiencia of Quito—which later became the state of Ecuador—with reinforcements for his trusted general, Antonio José de Sucre, who was struggling with the Royalists in that

quarter. With the soldiers of General Sucre O'Leary took part in the battle on the slopes of Mount Pichincha, May 24, 1822, and was brevetted lieutenant-colonel. A short time afterwards, when Bolívar reached the city of Quito, O'Leary rejoined him. When the Congress of Colombia granted President Bolívar permission to leave Colombian soil for Peru, the faithful O'Leary accompanied him to Callao. With Sucre and other patriot officers Colonel O'Leary assisted Bolívar to prepare the united army of liberation for the long and hazardous march that, on August 6, 1824, resulted in the defeat of the Royalists under General Canterac in a cavalry engagement on the plains of Junín. O'Leary, therefore, saw service as a soldier in the revolutionary legions which liberated from Spanish domination the territories later included in the states of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru.

The lengthy Memoirs of an intelligent and observant foreign soldier who participated in the struggles which reconstructed the map of South America would naturally contain much interesting information. But this material has much more than autobiographic interest. For the versatile Irishman was at times engaged in diplomatic missions as Bolívar's agent; he served as the chief aide-de-camp of Bolívar and even as his confidential secretary. Moreover, these so-called Memoirs are more comprehensive than any of the memoirs which convey glimpses of the Emperor Napoleon: they contain numerous letters and state papers of historical interest. For, after the death of the Liberator-President, in 1830, his devoted secretary undertook to make a great collection of documents relating to "the Liberator of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia," as Bolívar was sometimes styled by his admirers. The nucleus of that collection was composed of the papers which General O'Leary had gathered regarding his own revolutionary career. Furthermore, on the one hand, the industrious collector procured additional documents from certain Venezuelan patriots, as General Sucre; and, on the other hand, he procured some supplementary documents from Bolívar's most formidable antagonist, the Royalist, General Morillo. Most important of all, despite the proviso in Bolívar's will stipulating that the ten boxes of his papers should be burned, O'Leary was entrusted with these precious archives, which contained documents concerning the Liberator's private life.

To this vast collection of memorabilia the title "Memorias del General O'Leary" was ultimately applied. The Memoirs were prepared for publication by the general's son, Simon, under the auspices of the Government of Venezuela. The thirty-one volumes ordinarily belonging to the collection were issued from the press of Caracas at intervals from 1879 to 1888. They may be conveniently grouped into three divisions. The first division included twenty-six volumes which were numbered from I to XXVI. They contain the correspondence of notable men—Alexander von Humboldt, Joseph Lancaster, Marquis de Lafayette, José Antonio Páez, José de San Martín, Francisco de Paula Santander, Antonio José de Sucre, and many others—with the Liberator, besides a large number of documents which are mainly concerned with his military campaigns. The second division was composed of two volumes, entitled volume one and volume two of "narration," which contain a Spanish translation of General O'Leary's story of his career in the South

American wars for independence—a story which almost becomes a history of the revolution in northern South America. As has been suggested, these volumes have much biographic interest, for they furnish many glimpses of Simón de Bolívar as a man, a statesman, and a warrior. They contain a sympathetic character sketch of the Liberator, an interesting description of his method of composing letters and state papers, and some statements concerning his demeanor in victory and in defeat. Simon O'Leary planned to supplement the volumes of narration by at least another volume in the nature of a documentary appendix containing some of his father's inedited papers. A third volume entitled "appendix" was indeed edited, and, in large part, printed, but the Government of Venezuela arbitrarily suppressed it. An attempt was then made to conceal the gap in the published series by numbering the succeeding volumes, which escaped intact from the press, XXIX, XXX, and XXXI, instead of XXX, XXXI, and XXXII. In these three volumes there were published many original drafts of Bolívar's letters to important personages in the New World and the Old.

The suppressed volume of O'Leary's Memoirs, "Tomo Tercero, Apéndice," has a peculiar history. Simon O'Leary selected its contents from certain diaries and letters found among his father's memorabilia. The selections from that curious miscellany actually struck off the press were printed upon thirty-two sheets aggregating five hundred and twelve pages. Certain Venezuelan writers have attempted to explain the action of their Government in suppressing these pages in 1883. The allegation has been made that General Guzmán Blanco, the President of Venezuela, ordered that the unfinished volume should be seized because of certain reflections which it contained upon his deceased father, Antonio L. Guzmán. A more plausible explanation is that President Guzmán Blanco, who was styled "the Illustrious American, Regenerator of the Republic," became enraged because Simon O'Leary had ventured to insert in the appendix some correspondence concerning Bolívar's love affair with a certain Amazon called Manuela Saenz—more properly known as Mrs. Thorne—the wife of an Englishman residing at Quito. We are told that the Venezuelan President indignantly declared to O'Leary: "Dirty clothes are washed at home, and I shall never consent that the Liberator should be defamed in a publication made at the expense of the Venezuelan Government." As a result of Guzmán Blanco's attitude, the edition of three thousand copies of O'Leary's documentary appendix mysteriously disappeared from the face of Venezuela, if not indeed from the knowledge of men. Only a few copies were known to have been surreptitiously preserved. Accordingly, this famous, or notorious, volume became—in the words of a prominent Venezuelan scholar and bibliophile, Manuel Segundo Sánchez of the National Library at Caracas—by virtue of its rarity and the importance of its contents, "the most precious treasure of Venezuelan bibliography."

At last, by a lucky chance—it seems passing strange that the discovery was not made earlier—in July, 1914, in a house at Caracas which is situated to the east of the Plaza de la Misericordia, a number of the precious volumes were accidentally found. At the instance of the Ministry of Interior Relations, the Venezuelan Government got possession of the long-lost volumes, which accord-

ing to an authoritative statement formed a not inconsiderable fraction of the original edition. But the Government of Venezuela in 1914 did not sustain the judgment of President Guzmán Blanco: it proceeded to prepare for circulation the dingy but fairly well-preserved pages of the suppressed book. Under its direction there were added to the book as frontispiece excellent portraits of General O'Leary and Bolívar the Liberator. There were inserted a table of contents and a brief explanatory note which mentioned the book's mysterious history. Its pages, which ended abruptly with page five hundred and twelve in the middle of a letter of General Sucre to Bolívar, were clothed in a paper cover conforming in design to the other volumes of O'Leary's Memoirs, but bearing the date 1914. A brief preface dated Caracas, November, 1914, averred that the work was placed in circulation because the decree of December 3, 1879, which ordered the publication of O'Leary's Memoirs, without reservation, was still in force, and because "nothing indecorous concerning the Liberator or offensive to his sacred name is perceived in the pages of this book."

What, then, does the long-suppressed book contain? The greater part of its contents is certainly inoffensive enough. It contains some important material supplementary to the two volumes of the Memoirs which narrate the career of General O'Leary in South America. It contains O'Leary's account of his mission from Callao to Bogotá, June to October, 1826. Intercalated among the pages describing that journey are the agent's letters to the Liberator conveying his impressions of conditions in Colombia at that critical juncture. Documents which are labelled "1826 and 1827" partake of the same general character: they deal with the period from October, 1826, to October, 1827, and include an itinerary of Bolívar's journey from Guayaquil to Bogotá. Certain documents concern the convention which was assembled at Ocaña in 1828 to revise the Colombian Constitution. Other documents entitled "My Mission to the Government of Peru and to Southern Colombia" deal with Bolívar's attempt, through the invaluable O'Leary, to check the aggressions of Peru upon Colombia. Documents regarding a conspiracy which was formed in 1828 to seize the Liberator-President, dead or alive, compose the most interesting section of the book. As one may gather from these documents, an attempt to seize Bolívar in "the Palace of Government" on the night of September 25, 1828, was unsuccessful; for, while his mistress, Manuela, parleyed with the conspirators, the hero of many battles jumped out of a window and thus escaped the assassin's dagger. Thenceforth Manuela was known to Colombians as *la Libertadora del Libertador*. Among the letters of Colombian contemporaries describing the attempted assassination, O'Leary printed an epistle from the *Libertadora* to his father dated Paíta, August 10, 1850, containing her version of the dramatic event. Three other letters which the younger O'Leary set up in smaller type and consigned to a footnote explain the relations between Manuela and Bolívar. The first of these is a letter from General O'Leary to a friend in which he mentioned "doña Manuela Saenz, la excéntrica cara amica del general Bolívar." The second is a letter from Bolívar to his inamorata, La Plata, November 26, 1825, in which the Liberator evinced "a sentiment of virtuous regret" at his love for a married woman who was adored by her husband. "I

do not know," said he, "how to cut this knot: Alexander with his sword would only draw it tighter; for it is not concerned with a sword nor with force, but with pure love and guilty love; with right and wrong—in fine with my love for Manuela the beautiful." The third is a letter from Manuela to her disconsolate husband in which she expressed her determination not to rejoin him, and made the most extravagant and impassioned avowals of her attachment for General Bolívar: "¡Y U. crée que yo despues de ser la querida de este general por siete años y con la seguridad de poseer su corazón prefiriera ser la mujer del Padre, del Hijo, del Espíritu Santo ó de la Santísima Trinidad? . . . Déjeme U., mi querido inglés. Hagamos otra cosa: en el cielo nos volveremos á casar, pero en la tierra nó."

These scandalous letters will probably not add much to the knowledge of the historical scholars of the Hispanic states; for the distinguished Venezuelan scholar and publicist, José Gil Fortoul, in his "Historia Constitucional de Venezuela," published in Berlin in 1907, had reprinted Bolívar's letter to Manuela Saenz, as well as Manuela's impassioned letter to her husband. In 1912, C. F. Witzke, director of the National Museum of Venezuela, also reprinted that correspondence. In all likelihood those historical students who wish to ascertain the truth at any price will reach the verdict that the decision of the Government of Venezuela to circulate the volume was just. For it renders accessible some important documents concerning Great Colombia on the eve of her dissolution and will be useful to scholars in the United States who are interested in the revolutionary period *par excellence* of Spanish-American history. Such scholars may even indulge in the hope that perhaps other inedited papers of Bolívar which were in the possession of Simon O'Leary in 1883 will some day also see the light.

University of Illinois.

Correspondence

RE-EDUCATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The very interesting letter, "Godparents to Soldiers," which you published on January 20, may be supplemented, I believe, by this short note. Soldiers at the front, especially those belonging to invaded departments, are greatly in need of "godparents"; but should not the maimed and the blind be entitled to the same benefit, the same consolation? Of course they receive a pension from the state, but that is not enough for the father of a family, and, besides, they cannot remain idle for the rest of their lives. So they must, as quickly as feasible, learn a handiwork or a trade. Much has already been done to that effect by two societies which coöperate, the Association des Mutilés Pauvres and the Aide aux Mutilés de la Guerre. Another society, Pour le Foyer du Soldat Aveugle, has been started on the principle of adoption; every subscriber pledges himself to care (in a certain measure) for a blind soldier. I may add that the price paid for reëducation is three francs a day, the average time being six months. There are now in France over 10,000 men who have to be reëducated as basket-makers, joiners,

photographers, musicians, typewriters, shoemakers, etc., if they are to become useful citizens, after having suffered as brave soldiers. So my question arises: Why not adopt a maimed man in addition to (I do not say *instead of*) a soldier at the front? A deal of good can be done for comparatively small sums, added to the "milk of human kindness," as expressed in a short letter from time to time. Subscriptions or declarations of willingness may be forwarded to Lazare Brothers, bankers, in New York, who are in touch with the French organizations mentioned above.

SALOMON REINACH.

Paris, February 20.

MR. THAYER REPLIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is not my habit to reply to persons who object to my writings. Matters of fact I gladly correct; matters of opinion are seldom settled by newspaper controversy. But when you permit one of your correspondents to impugn my honor and my honesty, you must permit me to break my silence.

In the *Nation* of February 24, Mr. George L. Fox, of New Haven, discussing "Roosevelt and Panama," says:

"The chapter on the Republic of Panama in Mr. Thayer's life of John Hay . . . is to my mind very discreditable to any one who pretends to be an honest and fair-minded historian. It seems to me permeated with special pleading, superficial and inaccurate statement. The following sentence is a good example of sophistry: 'Our action in Panama, of course, had nothing in common with such international crimes as the German destruction of Belgium in 1914.'"

I challenge Mr. Fox to cite a single line of mine, whether published or inedited, in which I have ever "pretended" to be "an honest and fair-minded historian"—or anything else.

I know no serious historian, or serious student of history, who would assert that the action of Roosevelt in Panama in 1903 was of the same nature as that of William II in Belgium in 1914. Call both crimes, if you will, but do not insist that two wholly different crimes are identical.

Mr. Fox accuses me of speaking "contemptuously" of and of "sneering at" the petition of certain members of the Yale faculty and other persons in New Haven against "the rape of Panama." I challenge him to cite a line in which I sneer at that petition, or give an impression of contempt. Mr. Fox accuses me of "superficial investigation." I do not wish to parade my work, because every one who investigates historical material, not as a fanatic, but as a seeker after truth, must be aware of his own limitations; but I may say that I have seen many papers and documents relating to the Panama affair which I know that Mr. Fox has never seen, material which, I believe, he will never live long enough to see. If he had seen them he might not have altered his conclusion; but assuredly it is not for *him* to apply the epithet "superficial" to my investigation in this case, or to set himself up as one who has studied the documents.

The gentlemen who signed the petition dated December 24, 1903, may all, like Mr. Fox, hold firm to the opinion they then expressed. I do not believe, however, that so distinguished an authority on international law as Professor Woolsey, whom Mr. Fox

mentions and I greatly respect, would agree that the facts disclosed during the past dozen years would not call for some changes in the phrasing of the petition, if he were drawing it up to-day. He may still condemn the "crime," but he would hardly insist now, when the length of the negotiation is known, that we "acted with undue haste." He doubtless has an inkling of one of the influences which may have been at work to encourage the Colombian blackmailers to insult the United States by their action on the Hay-Herran treaty and their repudiation of their contract with the French company.

In all this matter zealots like Mr. Fox appear to overlook the fact that the Panamanians had long desired independence from the Colombians; yet these same zealots worked most earnestly in behalf of the independence of the Filipinos. They also incline to forget the obligations by which Colombia was bound, beginning with the treaty of 1846. It might further be well for them to reflect that when Colombia failed to extort her blackmail she secretly offered to sign the treaty and grant the concessions for only five million dollars. And this is the state to which worthy, but as it seems to me misguided, sentimentalists, duped by the prospective receivers of our bounty, desire that we pay \$25,000,000.

Those who have read my biography intelligently have discerned that my purpose in the chapter on Panama, and throughout the book, was to describe events and policies according as John Hay shaped them, or was affected by them; this should be the attitude of every biographer towards his subject.

I hold no brief for Mr. Roosevelt, but I recognize that, if it had not been for his decisive action in 1903, the German Emperor would probably have got a foothold on American soil from which he could not easily have been dislodged.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Cambridge, Mass., February 27.

[We are glad to assure Mr. Thayer that the word "pretends," to which he especially takes exception, had no derogatory implication—ED. THE NATION.]

AMERICAN ALOOFNESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I know well that the considerations which I am in this letter submitting to you will make no appeal to the average citizen. For it is inevitable that in the present stress he must, whether on your side of the Atlantic or on ours, be much at the mercy of the day's press, and of the passing events military and, with you, political, which loom too large for a wider outlook to be possible to most of us. But the *Nation* gives hospitality to thoughts which pass beyond the immediate limits of the day. So, as one whose life has been spent largely in the reading and pondering of histories, and whose instinct it is to see current events in the light of them, I hope you may think it worth while to print this letter, especially as it expresses the judgment of not a few of that considerable class in Britain whose taste is normally for silence when tongues clash.

First, as to American opinion towards Great Britain's peril in the war. Speaking frankly, I have been somewhat ashamed of the exuberant joy with which our press has greeted every passing chance of American diplomatic action which might inure to our

advantage. Now I am confident that the British cause has many ardent champions in New England and elsewhere in America, for whom Mr. Choate, President Elliot, and the New York *Tribune* may stand as conspicuous examples. But I believe that their position in American life is fully understood. They do not represent American opinion, the opinion that can be translated into national action. We in England make no complaint of this, but we, at least some of us, insist on recognizing it. It is unfortunate that our press seems unable or unwilling to admit it. Some observers, indeed, draw distinction between public opinion in the States and that of the White House; others between that of the class educated to broad views and that of the average American voter. But why conceal from ourselves that the old antagonisms on your side of the ocean have not died out? From popular history and fiction (the line is not easy to draw) children in the Middle and Western States still learn that Anglo-American relations must for all time be determined by something that was wickedly done by George III or William Pitt in the ten or dozen years before 1776. Relations with Britain are still viewed in the light of the Venezuela threat and the Sackville trick. You, sir, must be aware that, had we been guilty of a crime marked by one-tenth of the wickedness of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, American opinion would have been so hard of restraint that no Administration could have stood out against a demand for war on behalf of Germany. As it is, such crimes, committed by our enemies, are just a theme for academic debate. I have never met an American who has not had to admit that there exists no such popular election cry as a threat of war—I do not say war—against England. Probably its success would be somewhat less certain just now.

Now, the careful observer in this country does not, as I say, complain of this. It is part of the historical inheritance. It is reinforced by indifference, due to the slightness of organization which marks your Republic. There is so much within your borders which is unassimilated and which in reality stands outside the national self-consciousness, though it possesses great financial and electoral power. We, I understand, have to reckon with about 100,000 Irish in the United Kingdom who profess to be a foreign body in the organism. Again, we are aware of the delicate conditions involved in the imminence of a Presidential election. We realize, too, the natural desire of people making money at unheard-of pace to accept thankfully rhetorical phrases and easy formulas pretending to protect them from interference in their job.

Yet again, let me say, America is strictly correct in telling us: "Your independence is no concern of ours." But this brings me to my second inquiry. The average man has no time nor inclination to trouble himself about the less obvious or the remote consequences of any given course of political action. But some of us indulge a little, indeed can hardly refrain from it, in historical speculation upon what may follow in a future not very distant.

I assume that it is known to authorities in the United States that a victorious Germany, or even an unbeaten Germany, is ready to make complete—so far as such a thing is possible—restitution in Belgium, France, and Serbia in exchange for the sale by Great Britain to Germany of the Bermudas, the Bahamas,

Jamaica, and British Honduras; such sale to be accompanied by a joint British and German policy of a free Panama Canal, of a new canal to be made and owned by these two Powers in coöperation, or made and controlled by the great European Powers and Japan. It is represented "that it is impossible in the economic development of the world that a single Power should be allowed to dominate the Americas, forming as they do one continuous barrier stretching nearly from pole to pole, such Power arming the one precarious ocean water-way against all other nations. That is a position wholly incompatible with the doctrine of the freedom of the seas to which the States is disposed to accede at Germany's instance." Although it originates with Germany, no European nation, and certainly not Japan nor the British Dominions, would *in principle* be unfavorable to the doctrine suggested.

Now this is brought forward by way of illustration. The point which a student of history would press home is this which follows. The aloofness of America, which has Washington's great authority behind it, will not in future be determined by the will of America, but by the evolution of the world. The dominant forces of civilization are still in Europe and Asia, and are likely to remain there. These forces may continue in unstable equilibrium. An historian must be forgiven if he doubts it. If America counts upon standing antagonisms she may be disappointed. Austria made alliance with Germany, and gave her lives and treasure for her ally—only after Sudowa. Japan defeated Russia—to-day their intimate union is a crucial fact in the present stage of the military situation in Europe. We conquer the Boers—have we to-day any more brilliant or loyal leaders in war or administration than Botha and Smuts? These are but trivial and obvious instances. European history has more weighty examples. And their significance at this moment may not be overlooked by America.

For where has the Monroe Doctrine a friend in Europe except Britain? On what has that adhesion been based? Partly upon political principle: America and Britain standing for the supremacy in the Western Continent of the Anglo-American ideal of democracy and peace. Partly on our sense of kinship. But if America is, as a nation, indifferent to the triumph of military autocracy in the present conflict, if to her this sense of kinship means nothing—nothing, at least, worth sacrifice—then this ideal, this kinship, cannot count with us when stronger forces, military and political, compel. It is not so long ago that, had need arisen—and it might easily have arisen, as your statesmen knew—England would have sent her fleet to strengthen yours. To-morrow, perhaps, in like emergency we shall, perforce, content ourselves with sending notes.

"But we shall always stand aloof," is no doubt the rejoinder of the American politician. The answer inspired by history may well be that this will not rest with you. There are two sorts of "aloofness." Legality is an admirable principle, and it is an efficient one in quiet times with all parties agreed in its definitions. But at best Legality excites no enthusiasms and is not a fecund parent of friendships. Aloofness, therefore, may prove to be America's portion, but the aloofness not of choice but of hard circumstance.

It is the conviction of most Germans that their nation has, through the hyphenated citi-

zens of the Republic, a strangle-hold over the United States, and that as the most determined unit of the population they can effectively block all hostile action. Now several Americans with intimate knowledge of your affairs have allowed to me that such a boast is not wholly unfounded, and that it reveals a contributory motive to the President's attitude. To the student of history this appears to open up a grave prospect for the future development of American freedom.

Indeed, as one looks out upon the present position, whether in Europe or in the United States, it is both amazing and disheartening to see how the dominance of the autocratic military ideal affects even the most democratic communities. Its infection has perverted Bulgaria and Greece, than which no more ardently democratic peoples existed yesterday. Holland and Denmark are paralyzed, and are perfectly content to be so. Scandinavia has made German success her ideal of political strength. The United States, I believe, on the other hand, is repelled by it, but closes her eyes to its significance now and hereafter; and, conscious of the efficiency of the German military machine, is glad to evade a decision which might involve direct action.

A MERE STUDENT.

London, February 16.

GOVERNMENTAL CONTROL OF THE TELEGRAPH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of Postmaster-General Burleson's suggestion that the Government should take charge of all utilities for the transmission of intelligence, it may be of interest to recall that the first telegraph line was made a part of the "postal" system during the Administration of President Polk. This line connected the cities of Baltimore and Washington, and the first practical use made of it was to report the proceedings of the Democratic Convention held in Baltimore in May, 1844. On March 3 of the same year Congress appropriated \$8,000 to operate this line for the ensuing year under the control of the Post Office Department. On assuming office, Cave Johnson, the new Postmaster-General, issued an order fixing the salaries of the operators and the tariff rates for the transmission of messages. Morse, the inventor, was put in charge, with a salary of \$2,000, and the oath of office was administered to him and all of his assistants. Messages were to be paid for in advance by the sender at the rate of a quarter of a cent per telegraphic character. On receipt of the message at the other terminus it was to be put in writing, and the recipient charged the ordinary rate of postage.

In his annual report to the President, December 1, 1845, Johnson makes some interesting comments on the new method of transmission and on its latent possibilities for good or evil:

"I deem it my duty to bring to your notice the fact that the subject of telegraphic communications, in their fullest extent, as made available by this extraordinary invention, is forcing itself upon the attention of the public. The proprietors of the patent securing the exclusive use of the telegraph, have, since the last Congress, taken the most active measures to establish lines of communication between the principal cities of the

Union. Their success will introduce a means of communicating intelligence amply sufficient for a great variety of purposes, and greatly superior in dispatch to those of the public mails, and must secure to itself much of the business that has heretofore been transmitted through them, and, to that extent, diminish the revenues of the department.

"It becomes, then, a question of great importance, how far the Government will allow individuals to divide with it the business of transmitting intelligence—an important duty, confided to it by the Constitution, necessarily and properly exclusive. Or will it purchase the telegraph, and conduct its operations for the benefit of the public? Experience teaches that, if individual enterprise is allowed to perform such portions of the business of the Government as it may find for its advantage, the Government will soon be left to perform unprofitable portions of it only, and must be driven to abandon it entirely, or carry it on at a heavy tax upon the public treasury. In the hands of individuals or associations, the telegraph may become the most potent instrument the world ever knew to effect sudden and large speculations—to rob the many of their just advantages, and concentrate them upon the few. If permitted by the Government to be thus held, the public can have no security that it will not be wielded for their injury rather than their benefit. The operation of the telegraph between this city and Baltimore has not convinced me that, under any rate of postage that can be adopted, its revenues can be made to equal its expenditures. Its importance to the public does not consist in any probable income that can ever be derived from it; but as an agent vastly superior to any other ever devised by the genius of man for the diffusion of intelligence, which may be accomplished with almost the rapidity of light to any part of the republic, its value in all commercial transactions, to individuals having control of it, or to the Government in time of war, could not be estimated. The use of an instrument so powerful for good or for evil cannot with safety to the people be left in the hands of private individuals uncontrolled by law."

E. I. MCCORMACK.

Berkeley, Cal., February 17.

A PENDENT QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "Were Witches Hung or Hanged?" In the use of *hung* B. M. W. protested (in last week's *Nation*, p. 222) "against certain atrocities committed by the cultured of our own land upon our mother tongue." Had he turned to the Oxford Dictionary (V, p. 71), the writer would have found some consolation; possibly, however, he was moved by the statement that "*hanged* is now the specific form of the past tense and past participle; though *hung* is used by some, especially in the south of England." However that may be, what is to be done when one discovers that a famous English critic and historian has recently committed the "atrocious"? In George Macaulay Trevelyan's "*England Under the Stuarts*" (sixth edition, 1914, p. 33), occurs: "witches were nearly always hung." Not only is the "insult" committed by a cultured Englishman, but by a grandnephew of Thomas Babington Macaulay!

Are we to treat such evidence as a scrap of paper?
ERNEST P. KUHL.

Hanover, N. H., February 25.

[Prof. A. S. Hill, the rhetorician, was no such respecter of persons. He had the courage to point out bad usage in writers like George Eliot, Dickens, and Thackeray.—ED. THE NATION.]

"AMERICANS" AND OTHERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the *Nation* of June 18, 1908, the present writer pointed out that by Virginians, as used in or before 1630, were meant not (as had been assumed) the English colonists in Virginia, but the *Indians* of Virginia. Will it not clear the air a little if some historical facts about certain other words are presented, especially since an account of these words is nowhere to be found in print?

The noun American has been chiefly employed in three senses: (1) A native of one of the two Americas: so used by G. Best (1578), Purchas (1625), J. Taylor (1630), Massinger (1632), W. Castell (1641), Milton (1667), D. Gookin (1674), S. Sewall (1691), C. Mather (1702), J. Lawson (1709), Addison (1711), Charlevoix (1721), H. Jones (1724), Bishop Berkeley (1724, 1725), Swift (1727, 1729), A. Dobbs (1744), J. Jefferys (1760), W. Smith (1766), E. Stiles (1783), W. Bartram (1791), S. Williams (1794), B. S. Barton (1797), G. Heriot (1807). (2) An English colonist in North America. In the general introduction to his "*Magnalia*," published in 1702, but apparently written in 1697, Cotton Mather, obviously referring to himself, said: "Only 'tis pitty that instead of one poor, feeble *American*, overwhelm'd with a thousand other Cares, and capable of touching this Work no otherwise than in a Digression, there be not more than Thirty Men daily employ'd about it." A pamphlet published in London in 1701 bore this title: "An Essay upon the Government of The English Plantations on The Continent of America. . . . By an American." In a letter dated New York, August 3, 1708, C. Heathcote wrote: "What . . . in the first place I aimed at by my proposals was to have diverted the Americans from going on with their linen and wollen manufactories, & to have turned their thoughts on such things as might be usefull & beneficiall to Great Britain." These are the earliest instances known to me of this use of the word, and indicate that such use originated with the English colonists themselves, as apparently there are no British examples until some years later. (3) A citizen of the United States of America.

The noun American, then, originally meant an Indian, was often employed in that sense until about a century ago, and perhaps is still so used occasionally. Next, by an inevitable transference, it was applied to an English colonist in North America. It is to be observed that in 1700, about when this meaning was acquired, there were few (if, indeed, there were any) English colonists on the American continent except in what are now the United States. By the taking of Port Royal (Annapolis) in 1710, and by the conquest of Canada half a century later, English colonists were, of course, widely spread over the continent, and those who lived outside the limits of the present United States were entitled to be called Americans. Nevertheless, by 1776, the word

was practically restricted by English-speaking people to the citizens of the United States, and continued for many years to be so restricted.

Mrs. Franklin concluded her interesting letter with the remark: "Let some one, for instance, write a novel with the caption, 'The Usonians,' and the thing would be done"—that is, the name would be instantly adopted. This is treating a difficult problem altogether too easily. "I can call spirits from the vasty deep." Quite so, but will they come? Words are stubborn and queer things. One makes its appearance, no one knows whence, is used locally for perhaps half a century, and then suddenly starts on a triumphant career. Another becomes well established almost immediately after birth, enjoys a great vogue for a generation or more, and then, no one knows why, suddenly disappears. Let us consider two such words.

"It is certainly an absurdity," says Mrs. Franklin, "for a great nation not to be able to offer its inhabitants a distinctive name." As a matter of fact, sporadic attempts to change the name of our country have been made at intervals for the past century and a quarter, among the new names proposed being Alleghania, Alleghania, Apalachia, Columbia, Fredon, and Fredonia. As early as 1660 Nicholas Fuller suggested that America be called "Columbina," and that word was employed by S. Sewall (1697) and C. Mather (1702). About 1670 "Columba" was coined, and is met with again in 1772 and 1774. Let us consider the fate of the only one of these—Columbia—that has obtained currency. First ventured in England in 1738, it was re-born among ourselves in 1761 as a poetical designation of this country. Barlow, Dwight, Freneau, Hopkinson, Humphreys, Paine, Mercy Warren, and Phillis Wheatley are a few of the poets who employed it. It was soon adopted by the people, the noun Columbian made its appearance (in 1777), and so common did the words become that about 1790 it was publicly suggested that the name of this country should be changed to United States of Columbia. The time was peculiarly ripe, a new nation having come into being; the name Columbia, at once euphonious, appropriate, and unknown elsewhere, was happily chosen, and it is unlikely that so favorable an opportunity will again occur. Yet now "Columbia" is far less commonly used than formerly, and the fact that for forty years or more we called ourselves "Columbians" is here recorded for the first time. The moral is plain. If all the poets and prose writers of the country were unable to effect the permanent adoption of Columbia and Columbians, is it likely that the author of a best seller will succeed with Usonia and Usonians?

In conclusion, let us glance at the noun Canadian, which, like Virginian and American, has also had its vicissitudes. (1) Originally it meant an Indian, being so used by Champlain (1613, 1632), in the "*Jesuit Relations*" (1632, 1653, 1695, 1757), etc. (2) It was then transferred to the French settlers in Canada, being so used in the "*Jesuit Relations*" (1694), by C. Colden (1727), W. Shirley (1748), W. Johnson (1750), etc. (3) With the conquest of Canada the word underwent a further change in meaning, and was applied to the subjects of the King of England, whether of French or of English extraction. But there are many cases where, from 1760 to 1780, it is extremely difficult to know precisely what writers, especially those on this side of the line, meant by "Can-

adians"—whether the French or the English inhabitants of Canada or both.

It would certainly be convenient if we had a name peculiar to ourselves. But the above evidence conclusively shows that the English colonists in this country were not "arrogant" in calling themselves Americans, any more than the French colonists and later the English colonists in Canada were "arrogant" in calling themselves Canadians; and that it is not easy to displace a name which has been sanctioned by the use of one or two centuries.

ALBERT MATTHEWS.

Boston, February 28.

NAGGING REMONSTRANCES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent Mr. Murray T. Quigg, speaking of the violation of Belgium (Supplement, *Nation*, February 10), says that it is "inconsistent with war that Germany should be bound to its enemy by any agreement likely to thwart its success." Surely the only thing shown by this statement is that Mr. Quigg is an upholder of the German cause, and has the German contempt for honorable dealing; not a very important result, except to Mr. Quigg. Continuing in the true German method of reasoning, he says: "Germany consulted her military necessity then, just as England is doing now," referring to her presence at Salonica. Of course no one needs to be reminded of the facts that the Allied army is at Salonica, instead of, perhaps, at Sofia, with the Greeks as companions in arms, because Greece tore up her "scrap of paper," and that, even as matters stand, the majority of Greeks are not opposed to their presence there. A few other little considerations, such as absence of confiscations, indemnities, executions of civilians, and other barbarities, seem to spoil the comparison altogether.

H. B. WARREN.

Brookline, Mass., February 17.

ITALY'S FRONTIERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Nelson Gay, writing on the "New Frontiers of Italy" in the *Nation*, states that the premature peace that was forced on Italy by Prussia in 1866, deprived her of a strategic frontier that she had won, and consequently exposed the plains of Lombardy and the Veneto to attack during the past fifty years. Mr. Gay is a great authority on the Italian "*Risorgimento*," but he is in great error in giving the impression that Italy was successful by her own effort in the Austro-Italian war of 1866. On the contrary, her attempts to invade Austria met with a severe defeat at Custoza, and the Italian naval activities in the Adriatic met with a crushing defeat at Lissa. It may be true that some irregular troops overran part of the Trentino, but they were not a serious factor in the campaign.

Austria's defeat by Prussia permitted the latter to dictate the terms of peace, which included ceding to Italy, by Austria, Venice and the Veneto. The results therefore of the war were that Italy, who had nothing but failures to show for it, acquired a territory that was tremendously valuable to her, and assumed the position of a European Power.

S. N. WARREN, JR.

New York, February 29.

Literature

WEALTH AND INCOME.

The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States. By Willford Isbell King. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.

Income: An Examination of the Returns from Services Rendered and from Property Owned in the United States. By Scott Nearing. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.25 net.

Between these two books there is at once a marked resemblance and a striking difference. As compact digests and useful surveys of statistical facts, they are both deserving of high commendation. Both of them aim to make accessible what is salient and significant in the statistics of wealth and income. Doctor Nearing's book, to be sure, deals with the statistics of wealth only incidentally, its express subject-matter being income, as the title indicates; but that difference affects rather the amount of space devoted to the two categories than the character of the discussion. It is notable that in both the books the reader is frankly and even emphatically informed of the imperfect nature of the data dealt with. There is no pretence in either of a greater degree of accuracy than the available knowledge makes possible. And we may go further than this. We have not observed at any point in either book the influence of bias either in the presentation of the statistics or in the formation of such approximate estimates as necessarily form a large part of the statistical basis upon which any general conclusions drawn by the authors are predicated. The consequence is that a reader may go to either book with the feeling that he will be getting a synopsis of the principal facts of aggregate wealth and income in the United States, and of its distribution, which is the result of honest work by a competent investigator and which, by one's unaided effort, it would be a task of very great difficulty to dig out of the census reports and other original material.

While there is so much in common between the two books, the differences between them are many and fundamental. Even on the statistical side there is one difference that is pervasive. Doctor Nearing's object is to present the facts of to-day; the chief aim of Dr. King's book is to study the trend of the figures as shown by comparisons going back as far as the census of 1850. It happens that this difference in the statistical subject-matter serves automatically to accentuate the difference in the view which the two authors take of the facts themselves, and of the policies which in their judgment are called for in the existing situation. Thus, that enormous increase in industrial productivity which the past six decades have witnessed, and which is impressively brought out in Dr. King's summary, naturally suggests a satisfactory out-

look; and his conclusion that on the whole (though not in the last decades) there has been a corresponding trend, even if not quite so marked, in real wages is conducive to a cheerful temper. Of this sort of comparison nothing is to be found in Doctor Nearing's book; and accordingly the contrast between rich and poor at the present time is not qualified by any consideration of the relative condition of the working classes of to-day with those of former generations, except such as may be indicated in incidental remarks.

Dr. King's book opens with an analysis of the meaning of the facts of wealth. For the ordinary reader untrained in economics, an exposition of the difference between wealth as viewed from the private, the public, and the social standpoint is essential. He needs to be warned that the mere census figures of aggregate wealth do not necessarily mean what they seem to mean; above all, that increase in the value of land may mean a social loss rather than a social gain. To get at a real comparison of national well being at different times, it is necessary to go behind the money valuation of property aggregates; and this quite apart from any question of change in the general purchasing power of money. Thus the exhaustion of our mineral resources is to be reckoned as a loss to the nation, even though what is left of them may command a higher valuation than the whole did before. Dr. King considers this and similar losses, and sets against them the increase of capital which has been going on simultaneously. It may be remarked here, by way of criticism, that if the real condition of the nation is to be considered—if we are to go behind mere commercial valuation—then it is quite possible that the benefit of such additions to capital as are represented by railways and other modern facilities, and by the existence of modern inventions, cannot be truly measured by their market value or their cost. There is, to be sure, no other numerical way of measuring their benefit; but the non-finality of the estimate should be noted, and must be seen to leave the general conclusion very much in the dark.

The nature and significance of income presents less difficulty, and the results arrived at are correspondingly more substantial. However great the margin of error that may have to be allowed for, the general character of what has been taking place is unmistakable. Incomes in all classes have been rising in an extraordinary degree, the increase being absorbed in the main in a great rise of the standard of living. All this is brought out very effectively by Dr. King, not only in statistical tables and diagrams, but also in his general comment. That the condition of the less fortunate classes of the community is, however, very far from what it should be, and especially that poverty persists in a way that should not be regarded as tolerable in the midst of our abounding prosperity, Dr. King thoroughly recognizes.

His view of the way in which this problem is to be confronted is, however, dominated by a recognition of what has come to be regarded by many as somewhat obsolescent doctrines of political economy. Something very like the wages-fund doctrine is implied in his pages; he is far from thinking of "collective bargaining" as a panacea. "It still remains a mooted question," he says, "whether any labor organization not monopolizing practically the whole wage-earning class can, through combination, cause a larger share of the total national income to be paid as wages than would fall to the lot of labor under a régime of free competition." The considerations upon which his whole discussion converges are those of increasing productivity due to modern progress on the one hand, and of increasing pressure on our natural resources on the other. In other words, the question is, as with the old economists, that presented by the operation of the principle of diminishing returns and the principle of population, matched against the progress of human efficiency.

Dr. King closes his work with an emphatic and uncompromising assertion of Malthusian doctrine. It is to a general insistence upon a higher standing of living, and the consequent check upon population, that he looks for improvement in the condition of the laboring masses. So far as his use of the name of Malthus himself is concerned, it is quite justified except in one respect. But the exception is extremely important. Malthus's idea of the preventive check was radically different from that now in vogue. He would have been as far as possible from taking up, with the light-heartedness with which Dr. King and other young economists and reformers take it up, the recommendation of restriction of population as they understand it.

So far as the policy of the United States is concerned, the conclusion drawn by Mr. King is that the interests of the masses of this nation demand a cessation of the inflow of immigrants whose standard of living is lower than the American standard. He presents the case for this with great force. But the argument, so far as it is valid, derives its weight solely from the general or theoretical considerations. The single statistical fact by which Dr. King seeks to fortify it is absolutely inconclusive. He finds that the rate of real wages, which had been pretty steadily rising in the five decades preceding 1900, failed to rise from 1900 to 1910; and from this he concludes that the upward trend had been brought to a standstill by the great influx of low-grade immigrants. Not only are the data too imperfect to warrant this inference, but even granting the phenomenon itself, it would be rash to assert that the rise of prices is insufficient to account for it. To brush this consideration aside by saying that the high-price period had probably been "long enough for wages to have almost completely adjusted themselves to the rising price-level" is to forget the difference between a

continuously rising price-level and a price-level that has risen and become stationary.

The strictly statistical part of Dr. Nearing's book is the result of much painstaking and intelligent labor, and will, as we have said, be found highly useful. The absence of bias in this part of his work is all the more creditable because of the intense reformatory zeal with which he is filled, and which one may feel sure furnishes the real motive of his labor. But between the statistical part and the didactic or propagandist part of what Dr. Nearing gives us, there is a great gulf fixed. It would be doing little injustice to the book if one were to say that, so far as its teachings are concerned, and its exhortations, they might have been exactly the same, and would have had precisely the same value, if they had been prefaced by a page or two of broad statistical statements instead of the mass of details that he has actually given. It should be stated, however, that there is one guiding thought in the presentation of the statistics themselves. Dr. Nearing's primary concern in regard to the figures is the classification of income as property-income on the one hand and service-income on the other. This is an entirely legitimate classification, and it furnishes a background for the contrast to which it is the author's chief purpose to direct attention. But in his comments upon it there is little to distinguish the talk of this professor of economics from that of any ignorant popular agitator with a gift for dramatic or melodramatic expression. It requires no statistician, no economist, to inform us that the six billions of dollars of income derived from property, if distributed among the twelve million poorest families of the United States, would add five hundred dollars to the income of each of them. This Dr. Nearing tells us, and he works himself up to many fine frenzies in talking about it. But as to how this is to be brought about, and what would be the ulterior consequences, we get no light whatever. Indeed, in his whole discussion of a question as fundamental as almost any that can be thought of in the domain of economic policy, we fail to find a trace of responsible thinking.

We shall endeavor to indicate by a few examples the reckless character of Dr. Nearing's treatment. Take the simple matter of that classification of income by which he sets so much store. As we have said, it is legitimate and useful; but Dr. Nearing is far from content with such a claim. Again and again he refers to the standard classification of the economists as "absurd" and "obsolete." He seems wholly to have lost sight of the fact that the classification into rent, interest, profits, and wages was designed for the purpose of studying the mechanism by which these shares are determined under a régime of competition. It was not a statistical study of the facts of a given moment that the economists had in view in making their classification; while, on the other hand, it is solely statistics that Dr. Nearing has in mind in making his.

Accordingly, the fact that modern methods of bookkeeping adapt themselves to his purpose and not to theirs, to which he points with sophomoric superciliousness, is wholly irrelevant. This might perhaps be regarded as insignificant were it not so symptomatic. The superficiality which it indicates is manifest everywhere. In the pages and pages that are devoted to what the author regards as the monstrous phenomenon of the growth of private capital, we do not remember to have noted so much as a syllable of reference to the service rendered by the men to whom its accumulation has been due, or to the inducements which prompted its devotion to productive purposes. Even the actual productivity of the capital is scarcely, if at all, referred to. It might, of course, be said that this may have been supposed by the author to be so self-evident as to need no mention; but the fact is that to leave it out of sight is to leave it out of mind, and thus to alter the whole character of the writer's thought and of the impression that is made upon the reader. How it confuses the mind of the author himself may perhaps be sufficiently seen from a single instance. "The amount of capital in the country," Dr. Nearing tells us, "per productive worker and per capita of the population, is growing constantly greater"; and he asks whether producers will be willing to "carry the increased load" and consumers to "pay the increased tax on their prices." To be capable, even in an unguarded moment, of regarding the increase of income-producing capital simply as an "increased load" on producers and an "increased tax" on consumers, is to write oneself down an economist of a species that we do not care to characterize.

Two more brief illustrations must suffice. In spite of his conscientiousness when he is explicitly handling statistical facts, Dr. Nearing is very free and easy with the figures he uses in dealing with the broad questions of society. One is almost reminded of the famous recipe for a salad, which, after giving many minute directions, winds up with the recommendation that it be thrown out of the window. "There are probably ten million families in the United States which spend less than \$500 a year," we are told. This seems to us highly improbable on its face, at least in any true sense; nor do we find anything in Dr. Nearing's book to justify the statement. It may, of course, be true in a merely literal sense if, in the case of farmers, the living they get out of the farm itself is excluded. Turning to Dr. King's book, we find that his estimate (which, to be sure, may be far from correct) of "families" whose income does not exceed \$500 is 2,665,000, and that of these "families" 2,105,000 consist of single men or single women, leaving only 560,000 families, in any true sense, which fall into this category, instead of the ten million of Dr. Nearing. The second illustration belongs to the domain neither of statistics nor of economics, but to that of ordinary straight thinking. "While the courts have consistently re-

fused," says Dr. Nearing, "to fix a minimum for service-income they have insisted on a minimum for property-income." Of course, what he has in mind is the fixing of rates for public service corporations by governmental agency; which is a matter of wholly different nature from that involved in the decreeing of minimum wages. What the court says is not that a corporation shall be assured a certain rate of profit, but that when an administrative body forbids the corporation from charging more than a certain amount for its services, that prohibition shall not be such as to compel the corporation to receive less than a certain return. The analogy in the case of wages would be the fixing of a *maximum* wage by the civil authorities and the refusal of the courts to sanction it if that wage fell below a certain point. It is this sort of loose and irresponsible thinking which stamps the whole of Dr. Nearing's tirade. No amount of moral fervor or of honesty of purpose can serve as an excuse for the infliction upon the general uninformed public of these irresponsible vaporings, under cover of the supposed authority of an economic writer.

CURRENT FICTION.

Collected Tales. By Barry Pain. Vol. I. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co.

When in his preface to this collection (of which a second volume is in preparation) Mr. Pain says that he has included in it none of his humorous stories, he illustrates the debased meaning of the word humor in current usage. Mr. Pain has a comic or facetious vein which has been popular, and which, against the advice of the late W. E. Henley, he has continued to work to advantage since he first struck it a quarter-century ago. A more genuine and deeper humor not only underlies, but largely determines the character of what he calls his serious work. Many of the tales and fantasies in the present volume are, if you like, concerned with the soberest matters of human experience. They are of a haunting, melancholy quality; they hover, half of them at least, on the verge of the supernatural—in the key, say, of Stevenson's "Merry Men" or "Markheim." It would have been interesting if its original date had been given to each of the tales here, so that we might have seen if it was as following a fashion of the nineties that the seven eerie stories came to differ so markedly from the six which remain. Of these six, the longest, "Wilmary," written nearly twenty years ago, is a simple, pathetic tale of the romantic love of a young girl for a middle-aged man, her guardian; a romance broken—rather needlessly, it would seem, except for the purposes of pathos—by her death. The others are brief, ironic tales of London life, whether of Cockney realism or middle-class comedy, or the deeper irony of "A Night of Glory" or "Too Soon and Too Late." The opening of the last-named tale may be

called perfect from the American point of view:

"The waiter placed before young Mr. Haynes a plate on which were a few white bones, an eyeball, and a piece of black mackintosh.

"'Turbot, sir,' said the waiter, in an explanatory voice."

Upon the alleged turbot and young Mr. Haynes's remark about taking it back to the cat is founded a bit of slender and plaintive but genuine romance. The adroit simplicity with which this is managed illustrates the technical skill of this writer in a field above which we are prone to wave the stars and stripes. It is not a bad thing for us to be reminded now and then that the short story did not begin or end with "O. Henry," even though a set of Kipling is now "thrown in" with a set of him.

Carfrae's Comedy. By Gladys Parrish. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is a first novel which has been well received in England. It concerns an episode involving three young men and a woman. The men are Carfrae, a playwright; Armathwaite, a would-be patron of the theatre; and Eames, a man about town. The woman is Mrs. Benwell. She has been married very young to the usual rake and brute, and in the end has divorced him civilly, though as a devout Roman Catholic she believes herself to be still his wife. She is beautiful, and has had a little experience as an actress when Carfrae meets her. He at once sees her as heroine of a play which he proceeds to write "around" her—the idea is that she is to be herself, that (without her knowledge) he is to embody his conception of her in the leading rôle, which is to be hers. Armathwaite offers to stage the play at his own risk. Mrs. Benwell, though she is half religieuse, and now lives in a convent, consents to play in order to support herself and a niece who is dependent upon her. Enter Eames, who, with a rakish past, conceives something approaching a pure passion for her, to which, idealizing him, she unconsciously responds. Under the influence of this new relation, Carfrae finds her character developing in a way which demands that his portrait of her shall change. The play is hardly finished when, by an easy miracle of novel-writing, it is accepted by one of the prominent actor-managers of London. When it is almost on the point of production, chance reveals to everybody concerned that Eames is the villain of the play as of the novel. Thereupon Eames vanishes from the scene, and Carfrae, who loves her vainly, insists that Mrs. Benwell throw over the play (and the manager) on the ground that he cannot bear to have her exhibit her soul upon the stage. We leave her clinging to the belief that she has "seen a good" in the wretched Eames which nobody else has seen, and determining through Carfrae's play (which she says is nothing to her as a play) to announce her triumphant faith to all the world. Improbable as the situation is, it is

saved from being merely fantastic by the firmness with which the childlike mystical beauty of the heroine's character is drawn. The men are puppets, the action is forced, but she is alive.

Wall Street Stories. By Edwin Lefevre. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a strictly business-like raconteur who never permits his curiosity to stray for an instant beyond the confines of Wall Street. If there is a world outside he has forgotten it, and such is his singlemindedness that for the nonce he makes you forget it too. His characters are not personalities but types of speculators; nothing that happens without this sphere of activity has a place in his drama—not even the motives that actuate a man outside of business hours. It is a clever feat of concentration, well calculated to beguile the tired business man as well as those who know nothing of the Stock Exchange except through interpreters. But it is a pity that the same degree of precision which marks the handling of plot and character does not extend to such a matter as mere sentence structure. When we read "Her face wore the look often seen on those ardent souls who think their sacred and inalienable rights have been trampled upon by the tyrant man, but who at the same time feel certain the hour of retribution is near," the "hole in the sense" all but swallows up the humor of the observation.

ESSAYS, PERSONAL AND FORMAL.

On Staying at Home and Other Essays. By the author of "Times and Days," etc. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.25 net.

Modern Essays. With an introduction by J. W. Mackail. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.40 net.

The familiar essayist whose primary purpose is to express his own personal attitude towards the "wisdom of the ages" belongs to the tribe of Montaigne. The essayist whose primary purpose is to express the wisdom of the ages, keeping his personal attitude in the background, belongs to the tribe of Bacon. "On Staying at Home" falls in the first division; "Modern Essays," in the second.

The anonymous son of Montaigne characteristically begins his titular essay with the first personal pronoun and the announcement of a crotchet: "I confess I have no sympathy with those that travel." In like manner he sets himself off from the "godly gentlemen" who urge Englishmen in these times to love their enemies: "It was these men that outraged women, or old men, or children, sunk peaceful ships, destroyed Louvain. It is these men that you tell me to love, and I answer, 'I won't!'" The insistent personal note reappears in an essay on "Reading Between the Lines": "If you read a book conscientiously from 'cover to cover,' as the Americans say, you are putting your neck under the foot of the author." In and

between the lines one gathers that this advocate of staying at home is a middle-aged or elderly Scotch barrister, fond of country life, his books, his dog, his gun, his friends, and his opinions; a shrewd, honest, humane mind, pretty contentedly established in its old habits of thought. "I can get along," he says, "with the commonplace, but with your 'savory' people, who are out for surprises and demand your admiration, I weary of their company and refuse to admit their exorbitant claim."

The volume introduced by Professor Mackail is a selection of eighty-two of the "third leaders," running to about a thousand words each, originally published in the London *Times*. Though written by various hands, they are all cast in a "predetermined mould"; and the trick of their composition, as the collector suggests, rather invites amused criticism. The first essay is entitled "The Wisdom of the Ages," and throughout the book the editorial writers of the *Times* display an easy familiarity with the sayings of Moses, Confucius, Plato, Aristotle, Bacon, Spinoza, and other solid authors. Many of the diurnal essayists take as a text some honorable platitude uttered by a distinguished public man—Mr. Balfour, Mr. Roosevelt, M. Poincaré—and expand it, or, with an air of mild paradox, elaborate the honorable platitude which completes the Janus-head of Truth.

One of the brightest of these little essays attempts to destroy that popular hero of press and forum, the Plain Man, who shakes his mysterious locks and gives, or does not give, the nod which is the stamp of fate and sanction of the god. We are now invited to believe that "there ain't no sech a animal"—or words to that effect, but more elegant. The Plain Man, so formidable to doctrinaires and statesmen, is really, we are told, a "composite photograph of a large number of individuals, chosen on no principle and with all their positive characters neutralized by the composition. He is an idea that we get of the world when we are afraid of it, like that idea of his audience which a nervous speaker gets when he looks vaguely at the mass of faces in front of him and feels that they are all hostile and all unintelligent."

To imitate the manner of a *Times* essayist: there is no doubt something in this; but much may be said on the other side. When we say Plain Man, we mean plain with reference to the matter under discussion. If it is a matter of church disestablishment, the Plain Man is not a clergyman. If it is a matter of exporting munitions of war, the Plain Man is not a steel manufacturer. If it is a matter of a horse race, the Plain Man is not betting on the races. The Plain Man is not a promoter or a politician or an official or any kind of an "ist." His hands are in his own pockets; he carries only his own purse; his conscience is in his own keeping; he has but one tongue; and he speaks from but one mouth. There are such men. In fact, we may say that it was

a group of Plain Men who wrote these eighty-two essays for the *Times*. They take a topic from the news, but they carry it into the still water, apart from the heady current of events. They feel deeply, but their feelings are disciplined and sobered by a general and relatively impersonal consideration "of man, of nature, and of human life." One hears the conscience of the Plain Man speaking in the essay on "Children in War-Time": "We elders have all of us together a secret that we cannot tell our children, a guilt upon our civilization that we are only fully aware of when we look at them, for they alone have no part in it." In times of violent agitation the words of the Plain Man are to be weighed and considered, are to be chewed and inwardly digested.

THE ERRANT PEN.

From Moscow to the Persian Gulf. By Benjamin Burges Moore. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3 net.

Kipling's India. By Arley Munson. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.50 net.

Our Summer in the Vale of Kashmir. By F. Ward Denys. Washington, D. C.: James William Bryan Press. (Limited edition.)

Isles of Spice and Palm. By A. Hyatt Verrill. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.25 net.

The modern traveller apparently has no illusions about his mission: no longer is it merely a matter of *veni, vidi, vici*, but freshly emancipated from the thrall of Messrs. Cook and Baedeker, he is busy asserting his independence. Successfully avoiding the pose of trail-maker, he is none the less eager for adventure and hardship, usually sets himself a difficult task, and, like Mr. Moore, faces disillusion with a philosophic spirit. If only to prove that travel in familiar Oriental regions is just as difficult as ever, Mr. Moore has given us a frank confession of his Persian experience. Of these painstaking pages there is nothing new to record, for the lure of ancient Irān is soon lost in the pathetic glimpses of that historic nation in the throes of dissolution.

Mr. Moore started on his pilgrimage under the sinister protection of the Russian eagles, and his disappointment at Samarkand, where he found the tomb of the great Timūr the Lame in a state of neglect, the famous mosque decaying, was characteristic of all the other shrines that have held the Western imagination. How should the tombs of 'Omar Khayyām, Sa'dī, and Firdousī remain in veneration when the Russians do not hesitate to shell a mosque? Mr. Moore's pages are ominous, for he leaves the Cossack lances in the north only to meet the lances of the Anglo-Indian *suwārs* in the south, riding slowly but surely towards the boundary that will some day sear itself across the heart of ancient Irān. Certainly, the British and Russians are destined to make strange bedfellows in this shabby affair, and the reek of oil will soon be wafted through Sa'dī's Rose-Garden! For this reason there is nothing

very inspiring in Mr. Moore's frank record, but the reader will find a rewarding picture of the true state of affairs in this "most distressful country," where anarchy and political exploitation have doomed an ancient race.

When Master Ralph Fitch, one of the first English travellers in India, closed his pages with the satisfaction that he had "to declare some things which India do bring forth," he little dreamed of the need arising for Arley Munson's book. And yet she appears to satisfy a very definite curiosity in a nation whose "average reader" would invariably answer the shade of the London merchant-traveller with the names of Kim, Mowgli, Mrs. Hauksbee, and one "Krishna" Mulvaney. And yet these, together with their distinguished inventor, doubtless are important products of India. If we are to face a revival of interest in Kipling, then the younger generation, bred on moving pictures and the new geography, will find, apart from the excellent illustrations in Arley Munson's book, that they must profess a familiarity with the works of the great Anglo-Indian writer such as justified in the present reviewer's day at Harvard the bestowal of the master's degree. The memory of that meticulous thesis now ranges foot-loose with delight through these pages; but we wish the author luck with her younger generation!

More frankly in the province of a guide-book de luxe, Mr. Denys has to his credit the picture of a more or less unfamiliar country in India, which was tributary in the fourteenth century to Timūr, but which has since successfully eluded both Kipling and Loti. If Mr. Moore was grieved with the verbal felicities that Loti has indiscriminately showered upon the sordid scene of modern, harried Persia, at least he will be grateful for the restraint shown by Mr. Denys in the historic and picturesque valley of Kashmir. The scenes that are already mellifluous in "Lalla Rookh" Mr. Denys soberly and comfortably enjoys, and his book will prove useful to those readers in quest of an unfamiliar and delightful sojourn. From Persia the Mughals brought to India the art of gardening, and it was in this so-called "garden of India" that the court of Delhi found its sixteenth-century Simla without, alas, any of the eclectic Akbar's literary patronage developing a more lively chronicler than the faithful Abūl Fazl.

Nearer home are the fortunate isles of Mr. Verrill's inspiration. Now that the war has discouraged foreign travel, Mr. Verrill's book draws attention to the favored islands of the Lesser Antilles, where all those original traditions and customs of a shadowy mother-country are cherished with the wistfulness peculiar to exiles, and have become engrafted, as in distant Batavia or Pondicherry, with picturesque and often ludicrous results upon the natives. The variety of scenery and local color offered by these islands should appeal to our pleasure-seeking class that is able to elude the annual rigors

of a New England winter. Mr. Verrill is explicit with knowledge and advice, and there is sufficient perspective in his picture to invite the jaded tourist. The valuable appendix he has thoughtfully provided might have been augmented by a more inclusive index.

BABYLONIAN SCHOLARSHIP.

The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria: Its Remains, Language, History, Religion, Commerce, Law, Art, and Literature. By Morris Jastrow, jr. With map and 164 illustrations. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$6 net.

Once again an authority of the first rank has written a popular book. Its style is so clear and its arrangement so orderly that the reader of ordinary cultivation may begin it with a confident assurance that his interest will be maintained to the end. The subject, in its present scope, is entirely new, for nobody has previously ventured to write a book on the civilization of these two countries, though one and another have treated some portion of the field which Dr. Jastrow has here worked into a single picture. Sayce* long since wrote most delightfully of such topics as Babylonia and its inhabitants, slavery and the free laborer, the money lender and banker, the law, religion, and the like, all of which under these or similar styles come up in this far larger book. In German Hermann Schneider† in a big book has endeavored to portray the civilization of Babylonia in comparison with that of the Jews, laying, as was natural, the chief weight upon the former, while Landersdorfer‡ in smaller compass has confined his survey within its natural limits and made a readable little manual.

Professor Jastrow, leaning upon none of these, has gone his independent way and made a contribution of his own to what must some day be a separate and synthetic discipline in the ever broadening field of Assyriology. In the first two chapters he has written again the fascinating story of the excavation of Nineveh and Babylon and of the other sites, and has set forth anew the whole story of the decipherment of their languages and the reading of their books. All this is admirably done, and makes plain to the ordinary reader the whole process of the recovery of the native sources. In the whole of the complicated story there is but rarely a slip, though a note on p. 65 which declares that "Kaempfer was the first to apply the term cuneiform ('wedge shaped') to the characters" seems to be incorrect. Kaempfer's book, as the same note also shows, was published in 1712, but in 1700 Hyde had used this descriptive epithet

*A. H. Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians, Life and Customs*. New York, 1899.

†Hermann Schneider, *Kultur und Denken der Babylonier und Juden*. Leipzig, 1910.

‡Dr. P. S. Landersdorfer, O.S.B., *Die Kultur der Babylonier und Assyrier*. Kempten und München, 1913.

(*dactuli pyramidales seu cuneiformes*). It may perhaps be legitimately doubted whether these first two chapters, which fill 119 pages, really belong to a proper survey of civilization, and might not better have been supplanted by other material, but the temptation, because of their interest, must have been great, and we shall not venture to upbraid their author for yielding to it. The next chapter, devoted to a survey of Babylonian and Assyrian history, gives a most lucid and satisfactory account of the whole field of action in which civilization in the higher and broader sense had to struggle towards its fruition. Here the pitfalls are many, for while we know much of the later, the earlier period is full of difficulty, and no man may hope to avoid slips. That so few instances of error are here to be found is surprising. It may be worth while to mention these. Urukagina is dated *ca.* 2700 B. C. (p. 40) and also *ca.* 2800 B. C. (p. 130) and Lugalzaggisi is placed at *ca.* 2675. There seems, however, to be sufficient evidence that these kings were contemporaneous. Naram-Sin is called the son of Shargani-sharri (p. 135) and then it is said that the former "appears to have been succeeded by a second Shargani-sharri, of whom we, to be sure, know nothing" (p. 137). The correct solution of this difficulty would seem to be to accept the conclusion that Naram-Sin is really the son of Sharru-kin, *i. e.*, Sargon I, and not of Shargani-sharri, whose name ought probably to be read "Shargali-sharri," and who is certainly the successor of Naram-Sin. After this dynasty, says Dr. Jastrow, "for a period of about fifty years a Guti dynasty actually occupied the throne" (p. 138), but the native lists show eleven kings and assign a period of 125 years to this dynasty. There is another slight error in the account of the dynasty beginning with Ur-Engur, to which Dr. Jastrow gives 119 years, but the sources 117 years. These are all small matters and none of them is sufficient to disturb the correctness of the picture as a whole.

The next two chapters are given to religion, and in this field Dr. Jastrow is admittedly the foremost American authority, whose contributions to the investigation have found full acceptance in Europe. It would be idle to attempt to suggest amendments here. The chapter on Law and Commerce is almost, if not indeed fully, as satisfactory, and the final chapter on the Art of Babylonia and Assyria is also well done, though here the future must present new points of view and a far broader generalization than is now possible. Who is there anywhere who can give the time to inspect all the remains of the art of these people, and then to work out its relations and appraise adequately its attainments? One might have hoped that Dr. Walter Reimpell, who fell in France as lieutenant in the Prussian army, might have made a promising beginning, though this generation cannot hope to see any really adequate presentation of a field so vast.

To the book proper Dr. Jastrow has added a most valuable supplementary chapter giving a large number of translations from the two literatures, ranging from the stories of the creation, through the splendid legends of the Deluge, to all manner of medical, social, and business documents. If the gift of so much in a book so able may tempt one to ask for yet more, it may be hoped that a later edition will afford the opportunity to the author to write a chapter on the art of war, an art practiced most constantly at least by the Assyrians, for the treatment of which abundant material exists.

The book is handsomely made, printed in large type, with ample margins, and is beautifully, even richly illustrated. Misprints are rare, indeed: *fumliegenden* for *umliegenden* (p. 13, note 16); footnote 81 should be 31 on p. 27; p. 159, footnote 62, the reference to Meyer should be p. 593 instead of p. 669; and the illustration of the Hammurapi code (plate xxv, p. 286) is upside down.

A COMMENTARY ON COMMENTATORS.

The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes.

Collected and edited by John Williams White. Boston: Ginn & Co. \$3.50.

To re-adapt a time-worn illustration, suppose that the professor of Old English in Macaulay's New Zealand of 4000 A. D. should undertake to restore Furness's variorum edition of "Love's Labour's Lost" and to reconstruct the history of Shakespearean criticism before Furness, edified solely by the margin of a text scribbled about with excerpts from the editions of Rolfe and of Hudson. His task would resemble that which Professor White has set himself in this monumental edition of the scholia on a single play of Aristophanes. The Codex Ravennas and the Codex Venetus, whose scholia on the "Birds" are here reprinted, were written in the tenth and eleventh centuries. These and other scholia in the extant manuscripts of Aristophanes have as a common source a parchment edition of the text, probably compiled at Constantinople in the fourth or fifth century, with the view of preserving for posterity what three centuries of decadence had spared of the product of five hundred years of Aristophanic philology. The compiler of this parchment concludes his task with the remark "transcribed from the notes of Symmachus and others." The "others" may be partly a flourish or a bluff. His main reliance was presumably Symmachus, whose variorum commentary may "as a working hypothesis be assigned to about 100 A. D." Symmachus in turn copies the first variorum editor, Didymus of the brazen entails, whose portentous industry shortly before the Christian era summed up the results of Alexandrian scholarship in a whole series of variorum editions of the Greek classics. Behind Didymus is the serious scientific philology of Alexandria, the great critical triad Aristarchus, Aristophanes of

Byzantium, and Zenodotus, their pupils and rivals, and the many minor names that specialized on Aristophanes.

Professor White's admirable introduction tells this whole story in compact, scholarly, yet very readable form, from the founding of Alexandria and the establishment of the Museum, the libraries, the fellowships, and professorships that constituted the earliest great university of research. He shows how the philological study of literature naturally grew out of the exegetical and cataloging labors of Callimachus and the earlier Alexandrian librarians, and traces its development to its culmination in a series of masterly special treatises, and then its gradual decline in an "epigonal" literature of excerpts, compendiums, school-books, and variorum editions.

In the course of this review he comes upon many interesting debatable topics. The legendary destruction of the Alexandrian libraries through the burning of Caesar's ships was, he thinks, at the worst partial. It is improbable, in view of the testimony of Strabo and others, that the main library was totally destroyed. And there remained the Serapeum and the two hundred thousand volumes of the transferred Pergamene collection. Alexandria was still the greatest book centre of the world. But Professor White conjectures that one of the motives of Didymus's encyclopædic industry may have been his sense of the precariousness of his erudite treasures and the desire to make good as far as possible the recent losses by the fire. Another interesting question, on which Professor White challenges the opinion of von Wilamowitz and Susemihl, is that of the form of the commentaries of Didymus and Symmachus. Professor White holds that they were not marginal annotations on a text, like the extant parchments, but independent books, unaccompanied by the texts, and provided only with lemmata. Of this character, he argues, are all the recently discovered remains of papyrus commentaries on particular authors. And a survey of the papyrus texts of the authors themselves shows that they provide space only for a few brief textual notes between the columns, and even this space was rarely used. The marginal exegetical commentary came in late with the parchment codex that replaced the fragile short-lived papyrus roll.

We cannot here attempt to study Professor White's own reconstitution of the text of the scholia. He has collated many manuscripts besides the Venetus, which he prints in confrontation with his own text. In addition to this, he and his coadjutors contribute not less than two hundred emendations of the text, all scholarly, many plausible, some perhaps certain. As he himself judiciously and wittily observes, "impudently applied to Aristophanes, it [emendation] is an unholy occupation, but not so to his Greek commentators as they stand reported in extant manuscripts." In one case we are tempted to dissent. The scholiast on line 395 writes *εἰς δὲ οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ*

δήμου πεμφθέντες οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τετελευτήσαντι. From this Curtius infers that there was a section in the Ceramicus in which those were buried who had fallen in Attica. Professor White rightly rejects this inference. But his own interpretation "in that very land, i. e., the foreign land to which they had been sent (πεμφθέντες)" is, we think, impossible. Nor is there any need of Müller's ταφθέντες. The true reading is, we believe, προπεμφθέντες, the normal word for the honorific escort of the body to the grave, and especially appropriate in this context, as appears from Plato's "Menexenus," 236D, where he describes the heroic dead of the Ceramicus as προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ, μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων. The phrase ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ probably means "where they stood, in their place in the ranks"—in the trenches, so to speak.

Notes

The Century Co. announces for publication this month "The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire," by Herbert Adams Gibbons, and "Where the Path Breaks," by Capt. Charles de Crespigny.

Houghton Mifflin Co. announces the publication of the following: "The Challenge of the Future," by Roland G. Usher; "The First Hundred Thousand," by Ian Hay; "The Life of Julia Ward Howe," by Laura E. Richards and Maude Howe Elliott, and a new edition of Oliver Wendell Holmes's "Breakfast Table Series."

A new book by Professor Kittredge is announced by the Harvard University Press for publication on March 15. The volume is a critical study of Gawain and the Green Knight.

The following books will be published on March 10 by Harper & Bros.: "The Twin Sisters," by Justus Miles Forman; "Love at Large," by Sophie Kerr; "Memorial Day Pageant," by Constance D'Arcy Mackay, and "A-B-C of Golf," by John D. Dunn.

Among the publications for March of Longmans, Green & Co. are "Life's Journey," by the Right Rev. H. H. Montgomery; "The Faith of the Cross" (Paddock Lectures for 1914), by the Right Rev. P. M. Rhinelander, and "The Sacred Way," by the Rev. Jesse Brett.

Paul Elder & Co. announce for publication this month "The San Diego Garden Fair," by Eugen Neuhaus.

The American-Scandinavian Foundation has published the second volume in its series of Scandinavian Monographs, "Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain During the Eighteenth Century," by Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt. The present volume will be followed by "The Heroic Legends of Denmark," "The King's Mirror," and works on art.

The following are among the spring announcements of B. H. Blackwell (Oxford, England): "Devotions from Ancient and Mediæval Sources (Western)," translated and arranged by Charles Plummer; "The Russians and Their Language," by Nadine Jarintzov; "Arazenos: His Wanderings, Trials, and Dis-

courses," by J. J. Pearson; "Virgil's Gathering of the Clans. Being Observations on Æneid VII, 601-817," with text and parallel translation, by W. Warde Fowler; "The Argonautica of Gaius Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus," Book I, translated into English prose, with introduction and notes by H. G. Blomfield.

The following are announced as forthcoming publications of the University of Chicago Press: "Gothic Architecture in France, England, and Italy," by Sir Thomas Graham Jackson; "War and Militarism in Their Sociological Aspects" (Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society, Vol. X); "Logical Theory" (New and Revised Edition), by John Dewey; "American Prose," by Walter C. Bronson; "The Relation between Persistence in School and Home Conditions" (Fifteenth Yearbook, Part II, National Society for Study of Education), by C. E. Holley; "Bibliographical Society of America, Papers" (Vol. X, No. 1); "The Great Revival in the West (1797-1805)," by Catherine C. Cleveland; "The Relation of Inference to Fact in Mill's Logic" (Philosophic Studies), by J. Forsyth Crawford; "Osteology of Some American Permean Vertebrates, Part II," and "Synopsis of the American Permo-Carboniferous Tetrapoda" (Contributions from Walker Museum), by S. W. Williston; "Atactocrinus, a New Crinoid Genus from the Richmond of Illinois," and "Description of a Ste. Genevieve Limestone Fauna from Monroe Co., Illinois"; "The Foundation of Slavic Bibliography" (Reprint from the Bibliographical Society of America Papers, Vol. X, No. 1), by Robert J. Kerner.

Percy Mackaye has been moved by the inadequacy of the present ceremony of naturalization to compose a pageant called "The New Citizenship." It is a solemn pageant and ritual by which the great moments of the formation of the Republic, as the signing of the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, are reenacted before the new citizens, who finally, nationality by nationality, take the vow of allegiance. The idea of replacing the inadequate and often careless adoption of new citizens by a dignified and significant ceremony is in itself meritorious. We fear, however, that the actual ritual before us would require more pains and good will than most communities can give to such a matter, and also that it would tax very heavily the patience of the average American audience. It is published by Macmillan (50 cents).

"English Poets and the National Ideal" (Oxford University Press) is a book evoked by the present crisis; but it is not an anthology of contemporary war poetry. It is a collection of four lectures by Prof. E. De Sélincourt, of the University of Birmingham, gravely inviting his auditors to purify and exalt their emotions by returning with him to the great expressions of the English spirit in Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, and English poetry since 1815. As one turns over these pages, interspersed with noble excerpts in prose and verse, one asks what other people in modern times has produced so many singers so thoroughly imbued with the notion that "righteousness preserveth a nation." It is the conviction of Shakespeare's warrior-king, Henry V, praying in humility before battle:

Not to-day, O Lord!

O! not to-day, think not upon the fault
My father made in compassing the crown.

It rings through the solemn warning of Mil-

ton's "Second Defence of the People of England": "For if you think it is a more grand, or a more beneficial, or a more wise policy, to invent subtle expedients for increasing the revenue, to multiply our naval and military force, to rival in craft the ambassadors of foreign states, to form skilful treaties and alliances, than to administer unpolluted justice to the people, to redress the injured, to succor the distressed, and speedily to restore to every one his own, you are involved in a cloud of error, and too late you will perceive, when the illusion of those mighty benefits has vanished, that in neglecting these, you have only been precipitating your own ruin and despair." On international relations, let us have a passage from Wordsworth's "Convention of Cintra"; "The maxims of all just law, and the measures of all sane practice, are only an enlarged or modified application of those dispositions of love and those principles of reason, by which the welfare of individuals, in their connection with each other, is promoted." Professor De Sélincourt stops short of living poets with a stanza of George Meredith's:

Our life is but a little holding, lent
To do a mighty labor; we are one
With heaven and the stars when it is spent
To serve God's aim; else die we with the sun.

The "Letters of Capt. Engelbert Lutyens" (John Lane; \$3), edited by Sir Lees Knowles, contain interesting snap-shots of the last dismal days of Napoleon at St. Helena. "Gen. Bonaparte was out early this morning and shot a rabbit, which he had let out on purpose for his amusement." "Gen. Bonaparte was very busy the whole of yesterday with the large tub. In consequence of putting the fish into it so soon after it was painted, many of the fish have died. Therefore, all the paint is to be scraped off this morning." "During the night one of the goats got out into the garden; at seven o'clock this morning Gen. Bonaparte shot it with a double-barrelled gun. He, after this, fired five times at a bottle." Capt. Lutyens was the English orderly officer at Longwood for fourteen months before Napoleon's death, and had the duty, imposed on him by the suspicious rigor of the Tory Government of assuring himself daily of Napoleon's existence and presence. Napoleon was not always so obliging as to walk in his garden every day, easily observable. When he stayed in bed, or at least indoors, one of his companions, with sympathy for Lutyens's difficult task, would stealthily leave the Venetian blind and curtain a bit open, so that the English officer could peek in after dark and catch a reassuring glimpse of the great captive passing from his bath to his bed. The volume is another nail in Sir Hudson Lowe's coffin.

"American Ideals," by Clayton Sedgwick Cooper, is one of ten American books on timely national questions published by Doubleday, Page & Co. (\$1 net). Mr. Cooper is himself a very "typical American," if one may judge by his breezy, vernacular, at times slangy style, his sense of humor, and his unmistakably American point of view. Although in his review of our virtues he exhibits a good deal of the notorious national complacency of Americans, he is not blind to our shortcomings and our dangers, and on the whole it is plain that he knows his fellow-countrymen exceedingly well. The chapters which compare American ideals with those of England and with those of the

Orient make especially good reading, while many readers will turn with curiosity and interest to the American Symposium, in which are given the more important answers to two questions—concerning our ideals and our weaknesses—sent out by Mr. Cooper to one hundred representative Americans. The chapter, however, which most deserves reading is the one entitled *The Shadow of Success*, in which the author points out various forms of weakness in our idealism; for example, the following: "Another shadow of our American idealism is in the region of that good that becomes the enemy of the best; I refer to the peace-at-any-price talk and activity, especially to the attempt to enlist our youth in a kind of anti-enlistment sentiment savoring considerably of fanaticism, if it misses being called by a stronger word." Such an ideal "means a weak passivity in the presence of wrong and oppression. It means the loss of power to have part in the great neutral counsels of mankind; it is also a travesty on any great religion."

Dean Hodges, of the Cambridge Episcopal Theological School, has added another volume to his list of books on what might be called the applications of Christianity. This one, called "Faith and Social Service" (Macmillan; \$1.25 net), deals, as its name implies, with various social questions of the day, such as poverty, labor, moral reform, and the city. Dr. Hodges leans neither towards the conservative party, which considers only the Church and the individual, and would keep present social conditions as they are, nor towards the radical views of the modern Christian socialist. The reader will find much sound sense on both religious and social questions within the covers of this little book.

"The Greek Tradition" (Macmillan) of Mr. J. A. K. Thomson comes out with a commendatory Introduction from the pen of Gilbert Murray. And properly. Whether Mr. Thomson is a pupil of Murray's or not, we do not know, but a glance at his pages will show that he has thoroughly imbibed the spirit of the Oxford professor, and by this affiliation his work is to be judged for good and for ill. On the one hand the authors he discusses are not dead things to him, but living men; though no mean scholar, he does not use the literature of Greece as a cadaver for exhibition of his skill with the pedant's scalpel, but treats it as he would a literature of to-day, as a body of thought bearing on problems that have not grown old and of emotions like our own. But on the other hand—and this, too, he derives from Murray's school—his interpretation is to a certain extent vitiated by a desperate effort to discover everywhere the relics of primitivism and by an intrusion of modern humanitarian ideas into places where they do not belong. His virtue is his modernism; his vice is an excess of the same spirit. In some of his essays the virtue fortunately predominates almost to the exclusion of the vice. Such, for example, is the chapter on Thucydides, the historian, a thoroughly understanding study of a great human document. In the course of this essay he makes these general observations on Greek art which we quote as one of the sounder passages in the book, needing, indeed, only a touch more of philosophy to be highly significant:

Greek art is traditional and conventional; the modern spirit is private and impatient of tradition and has made "conventional" a word

of reproach. The contradiction is not so absolute as it looks when stated in words. The Greek artist always brought something of his own to the conventional theme or *motif* which he was treating, while we, who in our morn of youth defy the conventions, visibly suffer when our own standards come to be challenged in their turn. In reality, of course, the artist can no more escape from all the conventions than he can afford to become a copier. But my immediate point is this. Greek art, permitting the utmost freedom of treatment within certain limits, insisted on the observance of these limits. Modern art rejects, at least in theory, any limitation at all, even (when the theory is carried to its logical issue) the limits of sanity. What the modern poet seeks above everything else is originality. The ancient poet avoided the appearance of originality. He treated a traditional theme in a conventional style and form, making it in fact the main part of his artistic effort that he should observe the convention. But he does not merely reproduce, he renovates it. . . . So Greek poetry, extraordinarily conservative in form, may become and is in fact truly original, the most original in the world.

This reverence for tradition and convention might be held to justify Mr. Thomson's insistence on the influence of primitive customs and superstitions even in the most artificial works of Greek literature; and, in fact, it does justify him to a certain point. Our quarrel with him is that he carries his theory altogether too far. Thus in his admirable chapter on Greek Simplicity he makes a good point in connecting this notable trait with the echoes of the old ritualism: "The suggestion of great hidden meanings, of some divine and wonderful secret, such as the ritualistic style was designed to convey"; but he rather weakens his thesis by falling back on the hocus pocus of primitive magic. Again there is much to praise in his chapter on *The Springs of Poetry*; there is truth in his thesis that "poetry is still essentially a spell or charm (*carmen*) awakening or reawakening the sense that we are organic with the world"; but in his analogy between Wordsworth's mythopoetic power and the savage's he goes too far and fails to make the proper discriminations. In some cases he is, we think, led by his theories into downright misinterpretation. In one of his chapters called *Mother and Daughter* he turns the old myth of Demeter and Persephone into a dramatic sketch which may all be a trifle too much in the vein of Maeterlinck, but, in the first part, is clear and beautiful and antique. Only in the second part, by turning Persephone into a pitying sentimentalist, he destroys the illusion of antiquity and spoils a pretty piece of art. There is no fault of this sort to trouble us in the study of Greek Country Life or in his *Thoughts on Translation*.

"The Poet of Democracy" has found in Mr. Edward Lewis, the author of "Edward Carpenter" (Macmillan; \$1.50), a most sympathetic interpreter. So sympathetic, in fact, is Mr. Lewis that it is often difficult to extricate the thought of the master from that of the disciple. Fortunately, however, it is seldom important to do so, as the two men seem to be very like-minded, in spite of Carpenter's simplicity and Lewis's sophistication. The added sophistication, it must be said, is a source of weakness rather than of strength; and to many a reader Carpenter's "Toward Democracy" will be more persuasive than Mr. Lewis's redressing of its contents. If we may trust the interpreter, Carpenter's whole thought and message is based upon a kind of psycho-metaphysical view which came to him

—and continually comes to him—as an immediate mystic experience. Besides noting Carpenter's obvious and oft acknowledged indebtedness to Walt Whitman, Mr. Lewis points out the similarity of his thought to that of Bergson. A much more striking parallelism—which, however, the author does not mention—is that between Carpenter's poems and the Upanishads: "Toward Democracy," quite in the spirit of the great Indian scriptures, presents us with an immediate intuition of union with the "All," and through it with every living creature. It is from this fundamental, mystic, and metaphysical point of view that Carpenter's attitude towards every sort of social problem is derived. Thus democracy means the actual inner unity of all lives, a unity which is now hidden by outer and purely extraneous forms and which underneath these forms is steadily germinating so that one day they must burst like an outgrown shell before its fuller growth. It is from this same mystical centre that is derived Carpenter's view of love—probably the best advertised part of his teachings. "It is one of Carpenter's fundamental tenets—perhaps the one—that all forms of Love, from lowest to highest, are forms of the cosmic consciousness. . . . Love is the real presence. Love is all. And in its human reference love is not so much one passion among others, it is the immortal aspect of a man; when a man loves, and only then, is he living his life on the universal and eternal plane." Such a view of the supremacy of love—love as a passion—naturally leads Carpenter to many a rebellious passage when dealing with marriage. There are some lines in "Toward Democracy" that seem frankly to favor free love. Yet "it is no part of Carpenter's plan to abuse the institution of marriage," and he admits "the educational value of the marriage bond." For our present marriage laws he has little respect; yet he "does not seem to hope much from an alteration of the law in relation to marriage. He looks rather to the gradual emancipation of woman which will effect profound and subtle changes in the marriage relation; and these the law will in the end be compelled to recognize."

Carpenter's treatment of love and marriage is typical of his whole manner of thought—or, rather, of his whole manner of feeling. It is easy to see the evils in an institution, easy also to picture an idyllic scene from which all the ugliness resulting from human nature as it is has been withdrawn. It is easy to scoff at details, to "take the large view," to spurn the mean task of "peddling particular remedies," and to sit perpetually on the prophetic tripod. It is easy, but it is very dangerous. The prophet of Carpenter's type despises the definite. His whole teaching might be described as an apotheosis of the vague. It is based on a mystic "psychology" that can express itself only in symbols, and in its applications it is forever blurring all real distinctions. In this world of the mystic All, the actual is ideal, seeming evil is good, and yet one must fight the actual and cry out against most existing institutions and make way for liberty. One must say, Yes, yes, to everything; there are no incompatibilities anywhere, for all clearness of thought must give place before the mystic intuition of universal unity. Yet we should not leave Carpenter with this as the last word. Though certainly not a great or even a clear thinker,

he is in many ways a true poet and a deeply religious and earnest soul; and the picture which Lewis gives of him discloses a very pleasing personality. Much the greater part of his life he has lived in an English village, supporting himself as a market gardener, knowing intimately and affectionately the good red earth and her children, and beloved of all the village folk. His personal presence, like much of his verse, has the healing and invigorating quality of sunlight and fresh air. He has learned how to live joyously and beautifully. As a poet and a mystic he has a good deal to tell. But one should never be seduced by all his charm into taking him seriously as a thinker.

Miss Maud D. Haviland travelled two thousand miles down the Yenesei River, and spent two months in a little village where her neighbors were Russian exiles and Siberian fisherfolk. It was an adventurous expedition made in company with three friends, and Miss Haviland has written of it ("A Summer on the Yenesei," Longmans; \$3) in a free, simple style which gives a clear impression of the country and the people. Her book is remarkable in that it treats of so many phases of her subject. She has not only caught the spirit of the North and described the tundras, she has written of the birds of this region, of their habits and nests and personalities. This is very valuable information, since there are but three other authentic lists of these northern birds. And she has added many names and facts not touched upon in preceding accounts. Her photographs of birds lend great charm to her book, and her accounts are delightful of the difficulties she encountered when taking them. It is the silence and the stillness of the north which is perhaps the strongest theme in Miss Haviland's book. After this the birds and the people take their place, and her observations on the two are equally sympathetic and equally valuable. She describes the long rides from one settlement to another, the reindeer or the dogs that drew the sled, the individualities of the drivers, and the texture and decorations of their clothes. She gives full accounts of the virtues and vices of the people, her sidelights on the vodka habit being very illuminating. She shows the various ways in which this drink is brought into the country, and the ingenuity with which it is sold and distributed. There were times when a whole community, men and women alike, celebrated by drinking large quantities of a mixture in which vodka was the chief element, although generously flavored with peppers and various spices. The result of such festivity was a general mild intoxication which affected in greater or less degree the work of the village for many days to come.

A number of additional volumes have been put into the series of publications embodying the results of the very important archaeological expedition to Syria conducted under the auspices of the Princeton University during the years 1904-05 and in 1909. While the recent volumes are more exclusively of technical interest to special students, embodying, as they chiefly do, collections of Greek, Latin, and Semitic inscriptions found in northern and southern Syria, nevertheless the results are of general interest as adding to our knowledge both of historical events and of architectural remains of various periods in one of the most interesting regions of the East. Of the Semitic inscrip-

tions one of the recent volumes contains copies of 107, mostly very brief inscriptions in Nabataean script, with translations and comments by Prof. Enno Littmann, formerly of Princeton University and now professor of Semitic languages at the University of Strassburg. Of the inscriptions published 101 were copied by the author himself, who is recognized as one of the leading authorities on Semitic epigraphy. The large majority of the inscriptions are funerary, but, in addition, we have dedicatory, votive, and memorial inscriptions containing names of donors of some object dedicated to a god or goddess or persons in whose honor statues or altars are set up, names of buildings and of the builder indicated in architectural inscription. The chief value of the inscriptions, usually very brief, consists in the proper names, which range over a large field. In addition to distinctly Nabataean we find Greek and Latin, Hebrew, Persian, Egyptian, Aramean, and Arabic names. The dates of the inscriptions range from about 33 B. C. to 124 A. D. Professor Littmann has added largely to the value of his work by giving a complete list of the Arabic names which constitute by far the great majority, and he has also added a sketch of Nabataean grammar, which confirms the generally accepted conclusion that the Nabataeans were Arabs by race and language.

The Greek and Latin inscriptions, found both in northern and southern Syria in considerable numbers, were copied and edited by Messrs. William Kelly Prentice, David Magie, Duane Reed Stuart, and Prof. Enno Littmann. With few exceptions these inscriptions are in an exceedingly fragmentary condition, and a great majority contain little more than proper names, but there is at least one, that of an imperial edict, which is of more than usual interest. Five fragments have been recovered and fortunately a duplicate also turned up, so that it is possible to restore the edict almost in its entirety. It deals with the division to be made in connection with the assessments and taxes collected by Roman officials from the inhabitants of the district. Of more than usual interest are the descriptions of the architectural remains by Dr. Howard Crosby Butler, who has been the leading spirit in the expedition. From Dr. Butler's very careful drawings, photographs, plans, and descriptions one gains an admirable view of the remarkable remains chiefly from the Roman period in northern and more particularly in southern Syria. Though a number of travellers in the last few decades have passed through this district, the region so abounds in archaeological remains that much was still left for the Princeton expedition to accomplish. Dr. Butler's share in the recent publications in supplementing the epigraphical results shows how unusually successful this expedition has been, and Princeton University, as well as American scholarship, is to be congratulated on the exceedingly careful and systematic manner in which the plans of the expedition have been carried out.

The Yearbook for 1914 of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois (University of Chicago Press), forming a stout volume of about seven hundred pages, contains five contributions of special value. A collection of hitherto unpublished letters of

Karl Follen, edited by Prof. Herman Haupt, of the University of Giessen, consists chiefly of correspondence between Follen and members of his family, two of whom, his brothers Paul and August, were exiles like himself. Some of the letters written in the late '30's, while Follen was a professor at Harvard, throw interesting side-lights on the life of Boston and Cambridge during the early years of the Abolition agitation. An extensive anthology of German-American verse of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, compiled by H. A. Rattermann, is principally made up of the writings of members of the Ephrata community; but the names of Conrad Welser, Pastorius, Count Zinzendorf, and others less well known appear. Otto Lohr gives a summary view of the German element in America a century ago, followed by a more detailed record of its part in the war of 1812. These three contributions are in German. Prof. F. I. Herriott, of Drake University, who sets forth at length the part taken by the Germans in the Iowa gubernatorial campaign of 1859, has produced one of the exhaustive studies of State politics which the Iowa State Historical Society has lately made familiar; while Herman Eliassof brings together, in rambling fashion, a great quantity of useful information about German-American Jews, including brief sketches of numerous leaders and accounts of many Jewish educational and philanthropic societies.

Drama

"THE GREATEST NATION."

In view of the announcement that "The Greatest Nation," which opened last week at the Booth Theatre, is to be withdrawn at the end of the present week, it would be unkind to say very much about it. Of the moribund it is unnecessary, except by way of horrible example, to speak evil. The play, both in conception and in execution, was very like Mr. Ford's peace expedition. Every sensible man is a pacifist, and to that extent every one sympathizes with the dislike of war expressed by Mr. Ford and by the authors of this play. As to the efficacy of the nostrums recommended, agreement is not so general. Let us all get together and be nice, say the authors, and every one will be happy and peaceful. So the prince of one nation, who is a noble character, marries the princess of a neighboring nation, who is also a noble character, and signalizes the betrothal by sending tons and tons of roses floating down a canal which he has built at his own expense, and which will benefit both peoples equally. Everybody is delighted, and the subjects of the princess's hard old father get so fond of the good prince that they simply refuse to fight when their king tells them to do so. The amiable convictions of the authors are expressed in a series of spasmodic scenes in which sundry players—it would be a misnomer to call them characters—enunciate all the pious platitudes on the subject of peace that one has ever heard. Mr. William Elliott is conspicuous in the production. Besides being the producer, he shares responsibility with Marion Crighton for the authorship, and recites the lines which he has imprudently allotted to himself as the good prince. The tedium of the production is in part relieved by the scenery of Josef Urban and by the

performance of the harsh monarch by Hal Forde, who, making the best of a bad job, gives a pleasant flavor of burlesque to the rôle. S. W.

"PAY-DAY."

This is the piece by Oliver D. Bailey and Lottie Meaney which so mystified a first-night audience at the Cort Theatre that most of the critics condemned it as the sorriest twaddle that ever masqueraded as melodrama, while a discerning few advanced the tentative suggestion that it might, after all, be intended as burlesque, and, if it was, it was not bad. Later editions of the programme, and, we gather, some amendments in the manner of the performance, dispel doubts, so that the guileless critic now knows before the curtain goes up that what he is to witness is a burlesque of a typical moving-picture scenario of the melodramatic order. Regarded as such, the play is undoubtedly amusing. Burlesque of this kind is not an easy thing to handle, and the actors, chief among them Vincent Serrano and Miss Irene Fenwick, no doubt err on the right side by playing most of the scenes "straight." Nevertheless, there is opportunity here for a few subtle touches which would serve to remind the audience from time to time that what they are witnessing is burlesque, without impairing the close likeness of the piece to its "movie" models. As time goes on, no doubt these touches will be introduced here and there; since the first night they have evidently been introduced in the third part with admirable results. The finale is capital, with its revelation that the persecuted heroine has achieved at once her revenge and her desire to be "always alone together" with the villain by infecting him with leprosy, which she herself had acquired some fifteen minutes earlier by misappropriating some germs from the laboratory of a scientist.

The ending described is sufficient indication of the nature of the incidents that go to make up this "talking motion-picture play." The mechanism of the thing is ingenious. Before each scene a typical explanation is flashed on a screen (some of these explanations are among the most amusing things in the piece), and this is followed by a few seconds of real moving pictures. Then the curtain goes up, and we see the player in *propria persona* continuing the action in which he has been engaged on the screen. Vincent Serrano is an excellent villain, and Miss Irene Fenwick does some uncommonly clever work as the heroine. A good caste includes, among others, John Stokes, Henry Harmon, Miss Suzanne Jackson, and Miss Gertrude Dallas. "Pay-Day" is welcome, both as an amusing entertainment and because it was time that somebody satirized the inanities on which moving-picture audiences are fed, and the example of which shows some disposition to affect the legitimate stage. S. W.

"THE HEART OF WETONA."

Melodrama has its merits, and in these days of pretentious problem plays it also has its rewards. After a season spent endeavoring with the help of the playwrights to decipher the way of a man with a maid, it was pleasant, for a change, to glance at the same problem through the eyes of one who made no serious effort to solve it. Mr. George Scarborough's "The Heart of Wetona," seen at the Lyceum Theatre, has the simple, right-

minded sort of hero who, before all this talk of hyphenates made us self-conscious, was commonly known as a typical American. He is strong with men and tender with women; his reasoning is clean-cut and unsophisticated. The play also has a smiling villain, who as a part of his duties has to keep the audience informed as to what an American is not. In the particular instance of Anthony Wells, who has spent some years at West Point, there is a reversion to the old stage convention that Eastern culture softens a man's moral fibre. And there is a real American heroine, for she is the daughter of an Indian chief.

It is unnecessary to recount the plot of what is, after all, merely an entertaining melodrama. But we are glad to welcome a revival of this dramatic type, which has always appealed in moments of relaxation to statesmen and scholars, as well as to the cheering, hissing denizens of the gallery. A word of praise is due Lenore Ulrich for her pretty acting in the part of Wetona. F.

"POM-POM."

Musically, Henry W. Savage's production at the Cohan Theatre, in which diminutive Mitzi Hajos is appearing, is above the average of the usual comic opera; in refinement it is decidedly above the average; in the humor or intelligence of its book the level which it reaches is not high. The scenery is by the apparently indispensable Josef Urban, and the costuming and general production of the piece are all that could be desired. The plot is negligible: Paulette, a new star, is about to appear as "Pom-Pom the Pickpocket." Detectives have been warned that on the first night a burglarious raid on her diamonds may be expected. Concealing themselves, they catch the burglars red-handed, but also, discovering Paulette herself in her pickpocket's costume, they regard her as one of the gang, and bear her off protesting at the moment when she should be making her first bow to the audience. By the time the author, Anne Caldwell, has got her characters safely to a thieves' kitchen, she evidently feels that her plot has done all that can reasonably be expected of it. The rest consists of a mild variety entertainment, to which Miss Hajos, Tom McNaughton, Thomas Walsh, and Miss Rita Dane are the principal contributors. A ditty in which a lady of the name of Evelyn is entreated to quit her devilin' goes with an intriguing lilt; Miss Hajos, particularly in her boy's clothes, is an engaging personality, and some of the humor provokes a pleased smile, if never a hearty laugh. Altogether we may characterize "Pom-Pom" as a polite and pleasant after-dinner entertainment. S. W.

Comic opera that aims at something of the old manner is to be seen in "The Road to Mandalay," which opened last week at the Park Theatre. There is a real plot, however slender, to which all the features of the performance are definitely related. More than this cannot be said in praise of this work. The scenes, which are laid in India, are set with economy, the costumes are far from lavish, and the music in general is only fair. One intentional falsetto note by the tenor hero, the agile dancing of the comedian, E. C. Morris, and a song by Herbert Corthell about "father's whiskers," so nonsensical as to be really funny, are the chief rewards of the evening's entertainment.

Music

AMERICAN MUSIC.

The History of American Music. By Louis C. Elson. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$6.

Catalogue of First Editions of Stephen Foster. By Walter R. Whittlesey and O. G. Sonneck. Washington: Government Printing Office. 40 cents.

What is American music? The question of nationality is a more difficult one in music than in any other art. Handel was born in Germany, but he spent the last forty-seven years of his life in England, where he came under the influence of its greatest composer, Henry Purcell, and otherwise absorbed so much of the musical—and religious—spirit of the Britons that he may be classed as an English composer. Two other Germans, Gluck and Meyerbeer, helped to build up French opera in the genuine French style. Beethoven was ethnologically a Belgian, but his grandfather made his home in Bonn, and the great composer, from his childhood, lived in a Teutonic atmosphere which resulted in making his works unmistakably German, or Austrian. Grieg's paternal ancestors were Scotch, and there are some, including the Grieg specialist, Percy Grainger, who hold that there is more of the Scotch spirit in his music than of the Norwegian.

Coming to America, how shall we classify, say, Walter Damrosch? He was born at Breslau, but came to America as a boy and has done all his work here. His compositions are commonplace, and there is in them no more trace of Americanism than there would be if he had remained in Prussia. It is otherwise with Victor Herbert. He was born in Ireland, and for some years practiced music in Stuttgart; yet his numerous compositions are neither Irish as a rule, nor German, but unmistakably American. Indeed, Mr. Herbert, in his forty operettas, or comic operas, helped to build up a real American "school of music," to use a conventional expression. The most thoroughly American of all composers, however, are Stephen Foster and Edward MacDowell, who were born in this country.

Stephen Foster has been for decades the most popular of all composers in America. No other songs are sung so often at social gatherings as his "My Old Kentucky Home," "Nellie Bly," "Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground," "Willie, We Have Missed You," and, particularly, "The Old Folks at Home," of which nearly a million copies were sold before his death in 1864. At recitals one does not hear these delightful songs, because their accompaniments are so simple; but there can be no doubt that if a singer should revive some of the less-known of Foster's songs, his or her audiences would appreciate and warmly applaud them. Of course, some of the best of them are not

available for this purpose, as they require a chorus for the refrain.

A few years ago a fierce battle raged around the name of Foster. His songs, all the pundits admitted, are popular, but can they be called folk-songs? It is, of course, all a matter of definition. The chief German authority, Dr. Riemann, in his "Musik-Lexicon," describes a *Volkslied* comprehensively as "a song which originated among the people, the author's and composer's name being no longer known; or one which has passed into popular favor; or, finally, one which has been composed purposely in a popular manner, and is simple and easily understood, harmonically as well as melodically." Others, including Dr. Friedländer and several prominent American critics, hold that the name folk-song can be properly applied only to songs the authors of which are unknown. The narrowness and absurdity of this view can be glaringly exposed by a simple question. Suppose some delver among old manuscripts casually discovered the names of the creators of a dozen melodies which everybody now classifies as folk-songs; would they, therefore, suddenly cease to be such? Foster's songs are, from every point of view, real folk-music; they are American folk-songs.

Louis C. Elson, in his "History of American Music," tells the story of Foster's life, and does not hesitate to class his melodies as real folk-songs; giving, also, in a chapter on National and Patriotic Music, information about others, like Root and Work, whose war tunes may be classed as folk-songs. And now comes the chief of the music division of the Library of Congress with a book of seventy-nine pages devoted entirely to a list of Foster's songs, a compliment which they fully deserve, for the best of Foster's melodies are as genuinely inspired as the folk-songs of any European country. In the preface to this little book Mr. Sonneck remarks that "many of Foster's songs, of course, belong to the mid-nineteenth-century type of sentimental American parlor 'ballad,' not exactly distinguished by either beauty or skill, but some of his songs possess the beauty and power of imperishable folk-songs." He calls attention to the rarity of original editions of Foster's songs; at least fifteen of them have defied research. Possibly his daughter, who lives in Pittsburgh, Pa., might help out, but she incomprehensibly refused access to her library in the interest of bibliographical completeness of this governmental document. A complete edition of Foster's songs is a great desideratum. Pending its publication, we have to content ourselves with Ditson's collection of "Twenty Songs by Stephen C. Foster."

Mr. Elson's "History of American Music" is more than its title indicates; it is also a history of music in America, from the earliest times to the year 1915; it includes chapters on all the important phases of the art, with a final section on the qualities and defects of American music. American Women in Music have a chapter to them-

selves; the early organizations, choral and orchestral, are described, with their aims and achievements; folk-music, opera, organ, and church choir get the attention they call for; nor are musical criticism and authorship overlooked. In the chapter devoted to these, Mr. Elson credits me with being the author of a complete vocal score of Wagner's four Nibelung dramas; but I simply wrote the prefaces for the John Church edition.

The first edition of Mr. Elson's valuable book, which is usually trustworthy in its information, appeared in 1904; the new edition not only has a supplementary chapter, but many of the preceding pages have been partly rewritten and reset so as to bring them abreast of the times. There is more biographic detail than one usually finds in musical histories, but the men and women who have become prominent recently have to content themselves with brief mention. Their number is surprising—a sign of great musical activity and ambition throughout the country. No attempt is made to answer the question: "What is American music?" but for this no one will blame Mr. Elson. It is even more difficult to answer than the query: "What is French music?" Auber, Berlioz, Bizet, Gounod, Saint-Saëns, Debussy, are about as unlike in their music as unlike can be. Have they anything in common that makes their pieces French to the ear? Perhaps they have, but I cannot describe it except by using adjectives that apply also to many pieces or songs composed in other countries.

HENRY T. FINCK.

Art

BOND STREET GALLERIES AND NATIONAL MUSEUMS.

LONDON, February 19.

The exhibition of the National Portrait Society, at the Grosvenor Gallery, is seldom of great importance, but this year it seems much more important than usual because such quiet prevails in the galleries that every chance to see what artists are doing and how they are affected or inspired by conditions of war, is of interest. At a glance, the National Portrait Painters appear to have been scarcely affected at all. The only suggestion of war is in the numerous portraits of men in khaki, though, with a single exception, it would be hard to conceive of anything less warlike than these portraits. The painter of military subjects cannot nowadays depend upon the glamour of a scarlet coat or the glitter of gold braid for an effect. If he does not find character in his sitter, or if he has not the ability to express that character when he does find it, his failure can no longer be hidden in the old fashion under a splash of color or an elaboration of patterns; and whatever character the British army may have in reserve, there is certainly no sign of it in the

present collection. British officers and British soldiers, as they are represented, are so many wooden dummies, neat and sleek, their faces as smooth and empty as a girl's in her first season, their irreproachable uniforms colorless and sad. The result is that the one exception, Augustus John's Captain Pringle, is the more striking. Among the masters it would fade into insignificance. It is harsh and dull in color, the head and shoulders are placed on the canvas with about as much feeling for design and dignity as there is in the casual snapshot. But character is in the face, very marked character in contrast to the surrounding dummies; character in the modelling of the strong features, in the bony construction of the head, in the aggressive ugliness of a man who looks on canvas, however he looks in real life, as if his idea of soldiering was not to achieve handkerchief-box or book-of-beauty charm, not to swagger as a well-groomed model, but to command and lead. Captain Pringle should be grateful to John for seeing in him a soldier and being able to record the impression in paint.

The fact that the portrait stands out as an exception explains, I think, that the National Portrait Painters have been, after all, more affected by the war than may be at first apparent. There are as many portraits as usual and by most of the usual exhibitors. But if this annual exhibition is never without its wastes of commonplace, it rarely includes so little that arrests attention, so few canvases before which there is some inducement to pause. It is as if the artist could not conceal his listlessness or indifference or preoccupation with other things, as if he took but a half-hearted interest in what he was painting; just as in much that is being written, and indeed in much of life as it is being lived, slight as is the change on the surface, interest in more immediate affairs begins at last to dwindle under the overshadowing horrors of war.

To come upon two Boldinis in this pre-occupied company is to be roused suddenly as if by an electric shock. Vivid wherever he may be seen, Boldini here becomes positively dazzling. Both canvases are large. One, which I had already seen, is a portrait of a woman in a wonderful yellow gown seated on the satin sofa he loves to paint, exaggerated perhaps in the fashion of the gown—a fashion that has passed—and in the contortions of the pose, but triumphant in the accomplishment of the painting and the animation, the amazing vivacity of the face and all the figure. Boldini, whatever his exaggerations, never rests content with a mere mannequin in paint. The other portrait is a group of mother and child and dog. The perspective is difficult to understand, the movement in this case is more than animated, it is unpleasantly violent, and neither motive nor arrangement supplies an explanation for the violence. But the face and neck and shoulders of the woman are rendered with astounding truth and vividness, the flowers at the belt of her low evening gown show the joy the painter had in paint-

ing them, and a small doll, lying on the floor just as it had fallen or been thrown, with one leg in the air, is a marvel in itself.

The other canvases seem more than ever lifeless after this. John's vigor, by Boldini's side, melts away. His small Madame Réjane and Lady with the Mantilla cannot even boast the character that comparison with other khaki emphasizes in his Captain Pringle; they reveal him as interested chiefly not in his sitters, but in the pattern of the lace each wears, one over her head, the other on her bodice. It is curious to turn from all these things to the Woman Sewing, with its memories of other days. The name of Walter Greaves has ceased to excite controversy. What he and his paintings owe to Whistler nobody now questions, nor could anybody look at this large full-length of a woman in trailing brown gown, standing in profile, the white needlework in her hands, a strip of matting under her feet, the little panel for signature half-way up the canvas, and not realize the extent of its debt to Whistler, not understand why within recent years it has been exhibited privately as a Whistler, why it was once bought as a Whistler. But, as I say, the time for controversy has passed, the relation of Greaves to Whistler is understood, there is not an echo of the war of words it not so long since inspired. Even the critic of the *Times*, who, five years ago, was the herald of the Greaves excitement and could not hail his newly discovered genius without a sneer for the master's "cosmopolitan cleverness," can to-day remain calm before the painting of the genius, perceiving in it chiefly the convention borrowed from Whistler. I am not sure that the principal interest at the National Portrait Painters is not the conclusion the exhibition of this picture brings to a curious chapter in the history of art criticism.

Other galleries continue to open, but with little of note to justify their opening. The Painter-Etchers are holding their annual show, yet it is scarcely upon their walls that the finest achievements and the most promising developments in the art of etching are sought. One Bond Street dealer has got together a collection of Bauer's drawings and prints, another exhibits the work done by a group of Belgians for "Belgium's Book of Gratitude," a third presents as attraction the drawings of eighteenth-century English masters. In a fourth gallery artists now serving in the Artists' Rifles have had leisure to arrange a series of paintings and drawings and prints, most of which, however, suggest the atmosphere of the studio rather than of the trenches. And so, after a fashion, Bond Street and its neighborhood manage to escape complete idleness, though something very like stagnation threatens. Its exhibitions of genuine interest or timeliness still open occasionally, the intervals between grow larger as the war drags on, and popular success is reserved for the record, or commentary, or satire of passing events, such, for instance, as the war cartoons of Raemaekers. Old enthusiasms are stilled,

old strifes have ceased, that painting of the Woman Sewing at the Grosvenor is one of the few reminders that art can stir up its own wars and divide artists into camps. Post-Impressionism, Cubism, Futurism, Vorticism, which their supporters and exponents sought to make a call to battle, are heard of no more. In the midst of a world war, contemporary art must suffer.

It is this moment, when contemporary art is generally being overwhelmed in the general upheaval, that the Government selects for the closing of national galleries and museums. The National Portrait Gallery met its doom a short while ago, though small notice was taken of the fact. The Tate and the Wallace have received their closing orders. The British Museum will shut all its doors, save the one to the reading room, on March 10. The National Gallery will remain open in parts only, as indeed in parts only it has been open for some months past. The exception is the Victoria and Albert Museum, which will be spared to the public. The Government's action has started the controversy that art itself now fails to arouse. There have been the inevitable newspaper correspondence, the loud criticism, the long discussions, a representative deputation to the Prime Minister. But the Government has displayed an unexpected firmness in the matter, and, save for one or two minor concessions at the British Museum and the Natural History Museum, it has not been shaken from its resolve.

The principal reason given, economy, is none of my affair, though I may have my own opinion of the economy that begins where students and the people are the sufferers. Another reason, only less important, does come within my province. This is the use as offices that the Government purposes to make of the closed galleries, the use that it has already made of them. It did not wait until to-day to hang up the sign "Separation Allowances Office" at the National Portrait Gallery, or a printed command that "All Passes Must be Shown" at a hitherto rarely opened door of the National Gallery. The transformation going on behind the closed doors, or destined to go on behind the others shortly to be closed, can be known only to officials and to people whose business is their pass. But it cannot be thought of without fear and dismay. That there is destructive wear and tear in any office is not to be denied, and there will be further cause for anxiety if pictures are to be left on the walls, other exhibits in their cases; and, as yet, no guarantee has been given that they are not. The men who led the deputation to the Prime Minister declared they would be the last to object if the proposed closing of the museums and galleries was designed for the better preservation of the national treasures. But to not one, apparently, did it occur that in galleries fitted up as offices, these treasures would be in certain danger, while the danger from Zeppelins has all the uncertainty of chance. The truth is that some of the critics who are loudest in finding fault with the authorities

are the least sure of their facts, the least reasonable in argument. One is tempted to suspect that, as writers out of work have turned military authorities, so artists out of work and eager not to be forgotten would appoint themselves guardians of the nation's art. But it is useless for them to uphold the example of the Continent, as one or two have done, and to take no trouble to see what sort of an example has been set at home. That some of the most priceless treasures in more than one museum have been removed is plain to the most unobservant eyes, and if the place to which they have been removed is not shrieked from the house-tops, the wise man will not blame the Government.

It is the greater pity that criticism should be made without reason when reason to criticise is so ample and so obvious. If some precautions taken may be applauded, others are futile beyond belief. And it must be confessed that authorities have done, or are doing, a great deal to lessen confidence in them. A visit to South Kensington these last days has gone only too far to inspire distrust. A large part of the ground floor in the new building was found screened and shut off, the sound of loud hammering was heard, and a glimpse here and there from an upper gallery revealed a series of booths of light woodwork and lighter canvas in process of construction. These were preparations for the British "Leipzig Fair"—the second British Industries Fair—to be opened at once with the avowed object of rivalling the German institution that has done so much for German trades and industries. Whether London can do in a day what Leipzig has taken years to accomplish is open to doubt, also whether this is the best way to set about the capture of German trade, of which so much is written and talked. But the more immediate point is the threat to the Museum in thus loading it up with inflammable material capable of as disastrous results as an incendiary bomb. It is argued that no place could be more appropriate for the purpose, since the Museum was intended not only as a gallery in which to show things, but to be of practical assistance to British arts and crafts. To devote the Victoria and Albert to this purpose is not a bit less reckless than if an American "Leipzig Fair" were built up in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. There is more than one hall in London that would have answered as well. The absurdity, or misfortune, is that, like New York and unlike most of the big Continental cities, London should have no hall or building of its own in which exhibitions of this or any kind can be held. It is hardly to the credit of either town to lag so far behind in enterprise and public spirit.

If, with the next Budget, a tax is put on theatres and music halls and cinemas, as is more than likely, the loss of so many of the national museums will be the more serious. Cynics have suggested that the people should not complain—they still have the smaller museums: the Soane, Carlyle's

House, for instance. The Soane is one of the most perfect small museums to be found anywhere. Carlyle's House is full of relics and associations dear to the reader of Carlyle. But the interest of all such small museums is not wide enough to appeal to the general public, nor is access so easy, while to wander from room to room in so unmistakably a private dwelling to the average man savors of trespassing. However, it is too late to protest. The order has gone forth, and unless the Government that spends many thousands on itself discovers, as it gives no sign of discovering, other and more efficient means of economy than saving a few thousands by depriving students of the means of study and the people of one of their cheap pleasures, art will have passed out of the British scheme of life until the end of the war, and nobody can predict how much longer still.

N. N.

Finance

FORTUNES OF THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY.

When the European war began, and business men in all countries were anxiously calculating which industries would be helped and which injured, what old trade enterprises would be destroyed and what new ones would be called into being, there was the greatest imaginable confusion of opinion. Scores of confident predictions, apparently well founded, turned out to be wholly mistaken. Export trade was to be paralyzed through loss of access to important markets now blockaded. Inability to obtain any longer the foreign raw materials, necessary to certain lines of manufacture, would force those industries to shut down. Not least of all, with international trade completely upset, by the war and the world-wide financial reaction which came with it, the ocean shipping trade would be reduced to small dimensions.

There were shrewder and more far-seeing business men who reached very different conclusions, even in 1914. When they did not rely wholly on general principles, they were apt to learn from the history of the Napoleonic wars—the last international conflict of any such magnitude—that the trade and manufacture of neutral nations would be immensely stimulated, both by elimination of blockaded competitors and by purchase of materials of war; that food products would be in unprecedented demand, and that the driving of one belligerent's merchant fleet from the seas, and the drafting of another belligerent's carrying ships into the army transport service, would eventually create an actual scarcity of ocean ships and abnormally high prices for ocean freights.

All this has happened in the present war, and to-day the most remarkable duplication of the experience of a hundred years ago has been in the shipping trade. Yet it was only

gradually that the real situation in that industry came to light.

The London *Economist*, writing at the end of last October, commented as follows on the shipping situation:

The present extraordinary condition of the freight market presents an astonishing contrast to the general anticipation of ship-owners before the war, for when war broke out many men were actually within sight of big fortunes, though they were in danger of almost instant bankruptcy. Nobody realized the demand for tonnage that was to result from the war, and most ship-owners, foreseeing little use for steamers in their normal employment, were anxious to have them requisitioned by the Government, at the Government's own rates.

Later on, as the need for tonnage grew, their attitude changed, and so far from court- ing Government employment, they were only anxious to keep their steamers for their own use, and run them in the ordinary course of trade. Freight rates rose from day to day, and the revenue-earning power of steamers increased to a point that before the war would have been considered fabulous.

Since this was written, the difficulties of the situation in England, already serious, appear to have been greatly aggravated. In New York, a tour of the ship-brokers' offices last week brought to light incidents that rival the tales of munitions millionaires. One agent told of a 4,000-ton American vessel, originally costing \$30,000 several years ago, which lately sold at \$185,000, and was considered a bargain by her purchasers. A British steamer changed hands a week ago for \$525,000 cash, which brought but \$325,000 last summer. This ship was immediately loaded with a cargo for France at \$40 per ton, and will pay a handsome dividend on the first voyage, if she avoids the submarines and mines.

Shipbuilding firms are offered prices previously unheard of for the product of their yards. Boats ready for delivery this month are bringing as much as \$125 per ton. Those, however, which will not be ready until the autumn sell at only \$95 per ton; obviously because buyers share the uncertainty of the general public as to how long the war will continue, and because of their belief that the present rate of profits in shipping cannot last long after the conflict closes.

Since the autumn of 1914, freight rates have been continually rising to new high levels, and shipping experts see no prospect of immediate relief, unless peace comes. Munitions of war are not the only exports that have to pay almost unheard-of rates. Grain to Liverpool, which before the war was carried across the Atlantic for 5 cents a bushel, now costs 50 cents a bushel.

Flour is going to England in sacks at a rate of 90 cents per 100 pounds, compared with an ante-bellum rate of 12 cents. Provisions have increased from a rate of \$4.85 per ton on August 1, 1914, to \$1 per 100 pounds on November 1, 1915, and now stand at \$1.25 per 100 pounds. It now costs \$2.50 per 100 pounds to send cotton from New York to Liverpool—when steamer accommo-

dation can be obtained. Before the war, it cost but 20 cents.

The profits now being made in ocean shipping are illustrated in a report sent by the United States Consul at Cardiff, Wales, which gives authentic figures published by the president of the Cardiff Chamber of Commerce. One of the instances given was of a vessel of 6,100 tons dead weight that had earned a profit of \$3,153 in a voyage to and from the River Plate from June to December, 1914. Freight rates were low at that period, and, after interest had been paid on capital, there were no profits left. To-day, the president of the Chamber of Commerce said, the vessel could be chartered for Rio Janeiro at \$10.33 per ton, and back to the United Kingdom from Rosario at \$11.55, and the net profit for the round voyage of four months would amount to \$193,000.

He mentioned another vessel of 3,700 tons register, built in 1910 at a cost of \$204,390, that had been chartered for twelve months at \$7.30 per ton, dead weight, per month. With everything running smoothly, and no accidents, the gross earnings of this vessel to the owners would amount to \$553,990. The running expenses, including war-risk, would amount to \$10,000 per month, leaving a net year's profit of \$413,990. The ship would thus twice pay for itself in a year.

One very important reason for this state of things is that the English lines have had so many of their vessels called into the transport service by the Government that their facilities have been very seriously crippled. The British Admiralty recently announced that it had requisitioned 3,100 steamers since the beginning of the war. Since there were only 12,602 British steam vessels of all classes registered at the end of 1913, and the Government, as a rule, took over those of the greatest tonnage, it will be seen that fully one-fourth of the British merchant fleet is withdrawn from commercial service—not to mention the German vessels now idle in harbor, or the great number of merchant ships destroyed by the enemy.

But what of the longer future? One thing seems to be certain—that merchants who buy or charter vessels at present rates are gambling that the conflict will last long enough for them to reap a harvest. Still, even if peace is near, they maintain that there will be a scarcity of tonnage for at least a year after the treaty is signed.

It must be remembered, however, that hundreds of German ships will be released by a treaty of peace, that munitions shipments will cease, and that the British Admiralty will be able to restore 3,100 steamers to their owners as soon as the war is over and the armies and their supplies are brought home. And what then? The precedent of the Napoleonic wars recurs to mind. In the very severe trade reaction which then ensued among the belligerent communities, the markets for wheat, for grain-growing land, for metals, and for plants manufacturing war materials, suffered heavily. But few industries were confronted with such sudden de-

pression, such speedy reversion to conditions where supply was vastly in excess of actual demand, as the ocean shipping trade.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

FICTION.

- London, J. The Acorn Planter. Macmillan. 75 cents net.
Mackenzie, C. The Passionate Elopement. New edition. Putnam. \$1.35 net.
Singleton, E. A Daughter of the Revolution. Moffat, Yard. \$1.25 net.
Wells, C. The Curved Blades. Lippincott. \$1.35 net.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- A Book of Belgium's Gratitude. Lane. \$2 net.
A Book of English Literature. Edited by F. B. Snyder and R. G. Martin. Macmillan. \$2.25 net.
Bartimeus. A Tall Ship. Putnam. \$1 net.
Bernbaum, E. Harvard Studies in English. Vol. III—The Drama of Sensibility. Boston: Ginn.
Burns, C. D. The Morality of Nations. Putnam.
Earle, A. M. Old Time Gardens. Macmillan. \$2 net.
Hapgood, I. F. The Epic Songs of Russia. Scribner. \$1.50 net.
Hustvedt, S. B. Ballad Criticism. The American-Scandinavian Foundation. \$3 net.
Lombard, F. A. Pre-Meiji Education in Japan. Tokio, Japan: Methodist Publishing House.
Powys, J. C. Confessions of Two Brothers. Rochester, N. Y.: The Manas Press.
Saintsbury, G. The Peace of the Augustans. London: Bell & Sons, Ltd.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

- Mozley, J. K. The Doctrine of the Atonement. Scribner. 75 cents net.
Ropes, J. H. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James. Scribner. \$3 net.

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS.

- Haines, L. Your Congress. Washington; National Voters' League Assoc. \$1.15.
Ingram, J. K. A History of Political Economy. New and enlarged edition. London: A. & C. Black.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

- Coombs, L. Ulysses S. Grant. (True Stories of Great Americans.) Macmillan. 50 cents.

- Geraldine Farrar. By Herself. Houghton Mifflin. \$2 net.
Gibbons, H. A. The Blackest Page of Modern History. Putnam. 75 cents net.
Hay, I. The First Hundred Thousand. Houghton Mifflin. \$1.50 net.
Jordan, D. S. Ways to Lasting Peace. Bobbs-Merrill. \$1 net.
McCabe, J. Crises in the History of the Papacy. Putnam. \$2.50 net.
Manning, W. R. Early Diplomatic Relations Between the U. S. and Mexico. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press.
Pares, B. Day by Day with the Russian Army. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.50 net.
Ritter, W. E. War, Science, and Civilization. Boston: Sherman, French. \$1 net.
Steveni, W. B. Petrograd, Past and Present. Lippincott. \$3 net.
Usher, R. G. The Challenge of the Future. Houghton Mifflin. \$1.75 net.

TRAVEL.

- Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706. Edited by H. E. Bolton. Scribner. \$3 net.

POETRY.

- MacNamara, R. S. Drifting Waters. Putnam. \$1.35 net.
Selections from Sidney Lanier: Verse and Prose. Scribner.
Untermeyer, L. "— and Other Poets." Holt. \$1.75 net.

DRAMA AND MUSIC.

- Kurz, H. European Characters in French Drama of the Eighteenth Century. Columbia University Press. \$1.50 net.

ART.

- Rolland, R. Michelangelo. Translated by F. Street. Duffield. \$2.50 net.

TEXTBOOKS.

- A Language Series: New Barnes Spelling Books. Books I and II. The A. S. Barnes Company.
Arnold's Fritz auf Ferien. Edited by A. Appermann. Scribner.
Bailey, L. H. Standard Cyclopaedia of Horticulture. Vol. IV.—L-O. Macmillan. \$6 net.
Ballard, A. W. A French Reader. Scribner.
Ballard, A. W., and Krause, C. A. Short Stories for Oral German. Scribner.
Bingham, A. European War. Vol. II. H. W. Wilson Co. \$1 net.
Bowman, I. South America: A Geography Reader. Rand, McNally.
Brookman, T. A. A Practical Algebra for Beginners. Scribner.

- College and the Future. Edited by R. Rice, jr. Scribner.
Deming, A. G. Language Games for All Grades. Chicago: Beckley-Cardy Co.
Educational Hygiene. Edited by L. W. Ra-peer. Scribner.
Emery, I. C. Constructive English. Scribner.
Frank, M. M. Elements of High School English. Longmans, Green. 75 cents net.
Fryer, J. E. The Mary Frances Garden Book. Philadelphia: Winston. \$1.50 net.
Hammock, C. S. and A. G. The Muscular Movement Drill Book. The A. S. Barnes Company.
Hessler, J. C. Teachers' Handbook of the First Year of Science. Chicago: B. H. Sanborn & Co.
Hessler, J. C. The First Year of Science. Chicago: B. H. Sanborn & Co.
Hobhouse, L. T. Mind in Evolution. Macmillan.
Keeler, H. L., and Wild, L. H. Ethical Readings from the Bible. Scribner.
Keeler, H. L. Our Early Wild Flowers. Scribner. \$1 net.
Mace, W. H., and Tanner, E. P. The Story of Old Europe and Young America. Rand, McNally.
McFarland, B. W. A Practical Elementary Chemistry. Scribner.
Mace, W. H. Washington: A Virginia Cavalier. Rand, McNally.
McManus, H. T., and Haaren, J. H. A Second Reader. Scribner.
Mikels, R. M. R. Short Stories for High Schools. Scribner.
Miller, E. The Secret of the Universe. Topeka, Kansas: Crane & Co. \$1.60.
Nida, S. H. Panama and Its Bridge of Water. Rand, McNally.
Pierce, F. H. Woodwork for Little Folks. Scribner.
Pritchard, M. T., and Turkington, G. A. Stories of Thrift for Young Americans. Scribner. 60 cents.
Ripley, W. Z. Trusts, Pools, and Corporations. Boston: Ginn. \$2.75 net.
Robinson, E. van D. Commercial Geography, accompanied by exercises and references. Rand, McNally.
Sand's La Mare Au Diable. Edited by M. K. Brooks. Scribner.
Stone, J. C., and Millis, J. F. Plane Geometry. Chicago: B. H. Sanborn & Co.
Talbot, L. R. French Composition. Chicago: B. H. Sanborn & Co.
Warren, M. R. Robin Hood and His Merry Men. Rand, McNally.
Wells, W., and Hart, W. H. Plane and Solid Geometry. Heath.
Whitty, W. The Socialized Recitation. The A. S. Barnes Co.

SHAKESPEARE

By JOHN MASEFIELD

"One of the very few indispensable adjuncts to a Shakespearean library."—*Boston Transcript*.



Home University Library. 50 cents net.

Henry Holt & Co. 34 W. 33d Street New York

FOR SALE—FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE FRENCH WOUNDED—

A copy of the "Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française du XIe. and XVIIe. Siècle, par Viollet-le-Duc. Paris, 1875." 10 vols., in perfect condition, bound in the original half red morocco. Price, \$50. Apply to A. B. C., 1154 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

BINDER FOR THE NATION

To receive the current number in a convenient (temporary) form. Substantially made, bound in cloth, with THE NATION stamped on the side in gold. Holds about one volume. Papers easily and neatly adjusted. Sent, postpaid, on receipt of 75 cents. Address The Nation, 30 Vesey Street, New York City.

THE CIVILIZATION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

By MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Professor of Semitic Languages, Univ. of Pennsylvania. 184 illustrations. Handsome Library Cl. Bvo. in box. Net, \$6.
The only book on the subject treating of the entire civilization of these ancient nations—languages, laws, religions, customs, buildings, etc.—other books have treated only partial phases of the subject.
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY, PHILADELPHIA

Public Speakers, Club Leaders, Teachers: Borrow

up-to-date, authoritative material on PROHIBITION, CHILD LABOR, PREPAREDNESS, or any other topic of current interest, at nominal rates. Tell us your needs.

Wilson Package Library, Box Q, White Plains, N. Y.

This week's issue of THE NATION comprises 13,988 copies; of this 8,763 go to paid subscribers and 876 go to exchanges or are sent out as free copies. The average weekly newsstand sale during the year 1915 was 1,145, February average, 1,077 copies.

In view of the large library and college and family circulation of THE NATION, it is safe to assume that not less than 40,000 people read it each week.

The Child in Human Progress

By George Henry Payne

With a foreword by

A. Jacobi, M.D., LL.D.

8°. 43 Illustrations. \$2.50 net.

This volume presents a faultless background for all literature on child-welfare. It is the first time that in the study of children of the present children of the past have received proper consideration. The author shows with great clearness the successive steps which have been taken since the days of Tyre to the founding of child-welfare societies in the present generation.

All Booksellers

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

New York

London

High Grade Advertising Agency Solicitor Wanted

Must have fair education and address and considerable common sense. Must have had experience in closing accounts, not merely in starting them. Should possess ability to reach the *head man*.

The position is with one of the most successful Eastern advertising agencies, which has never employed solicitors—all business coming by those two great solicitors—Recommendation and Reputation.

There is room for another—Personality. Its possessor should be old enough to have had helpful experience, yet young enough to consider his future as of more importance than his past. Salary will be in proportion to his worth, *plus* an opportunity to obtain as bonus a small but growing interest in the business, after a year's demonstration of his capability.

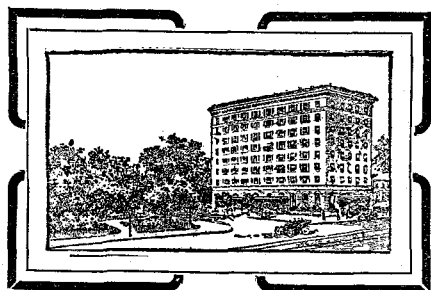
Agency is thoroughly organized and its officers are all practical, successful advertising men, handling first-class accounts.

State experience, what accounts handled and secured, and salary requirements. All communications treated in confidence.

Box 710, THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, N. Y.

HOTEL POWHATAN

WASHINGTON, D. C.



Penn. Ave., 18th & H. Sts., N. W.

Overlooking White House Grounds. New, absolutely fireproof. Convenient to theater and fashionable shopping districts.

EUROPEAN PLAN

Rooms, detached bath.....\$1.50, \$2.00 up
Rooms, private bath.....\$2.50, \$3.00 up

Ask for Souvenir Booklet with Map

E. C. OWEN, Manager

HOTEL CUMBERLAND

Broadway at 54th Street
NEW YORK



Broadway cars
from Grand
Central Depot

7th Avenue Cars
from Penn'a
Station

**New and
Fireproof**

Strictly First-Class
Rates Reasonable

Rooms with
Adjoining Bath
\$1.50 up

Rooms with
Private Bath
\$2.00 up

Suites
\$4.00 up

10 Minutes' Walk to 40 Theatres

Send for Booklet

HARRY P. STIMSON

Formerly with Hotel Imperial

Only New York Hotel Window-Screened Throughout

The Nation At Leading Book Stores

THE NATION is on sale at leading book stores and newsstands throughout the United States and Canada. Our readers will confer a favor by reporting to us any newsstand or book store at which they are unable to obtain copies of THE NATION. If you desire to secure a copy regularly through the newsdealer, during temporary sojourn at any place, it is a good plan to give him a regular order. List of dealers in a number of cities where THE NATION may be obtained is as follows:

Ann Arbor, Mich., H. Stoffet.
Atlanta, Ga., Miller's Book Store.
Baltimore, Md., Newsstand, Hotel Belvedere.
Beloit, Wis., E. A. Nelson.
Boston, Mass., Old Corner Book Store.
Boulder, Col., Greenman Stores, 1219 Pearl Street.
Buffalo, N. Y., Iroquois Hotel Newsstand.
Chicago, Ill., A. C. McClurg & Co.
Chicago, Ill., A. Kroch.
Chicago, Ill., John V. Sheehan & Co., 260 Woodward Ave.
Cleveland, O., Pushaw Stand in Superior Arcade.
Decatur, Ill., W. T. McFadden.
Denver, Col., The Kendrick-Bellamy Co., 801 Sixteenth.
Galesburg, Ill., G. A. Swenson.
Hartford, Conn., H. P. Koppleman.
Milwaukee, Wis., T. S. Gray Co., 104 Wisconsin St.
Ithaca, N. Y., D. Mayers.
Madison, Wis., The College Book Store.
Minneapolis, Century Newsstand, 10 S. 3rd.
Montreal, Chapman's Book Store, 190 Peel Street.
New Orleans, La., C. E. Staub.
New Orleans, La., G. B. Hill.
Newport, R. I., W. P. Clarke Co.
Philadelphia, Pa., C. B. Swift, Bullitt Bldg.; L. G. Rau, 7th and Chestnut Streets; Greene Hotel, 8th and Chestnut Streets.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Boggs & Buhl Book Dept.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Horne's Book Dept.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Jones Book Shop, 416 Wood St.
Portland, Ore., J. K. Gill Co., Third and Alder Sts.
Richmond, Va., Richmond News Co.
San Francisco, Cal., Golden Gate News Co.
Springfield, Mass., Hotel Kimball Newsstand.
St. Louis, Mo., Philip Roeder Book Store, 703 Locust St.
Toronto, Canada, Prince George Hotel Newsstand.
Toronto, Canada, McKenna's Book Store, 235 Yonge Street.
Troy, N. Y., Allen Bookstore, 456 Fulton St.
Washington, D. C., Newsstands at Raleigh, Willard, and Shoreham Hotels; Adams News Depot, 622 9th Street.
Winnipeg, Canada, F. R. Morris, 235 Portage Ave.

Read

MY YEAR OF THE GREAT WAR By FREDERICK PALMER

"Frederick Palmer has seen more war than any other living American writer."
—Theodore Roosevelt.
DODD, MEAD & COMPANY, NEW YORK

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Lists of Publications in sciences, philosophy, philology, history, economics, will be sent upon request.

**The University of California Press
BERKELEY, CAL.**